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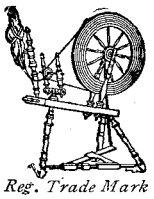

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The Outlook

APRIL 2, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

Mr. Roosevelt and The Outlook

By a cable despatch received last week The Outlook is authorized to state that Mr. Roosevelt will resume from now on occasional editorials for The Outlook, although he will not at present discuss American politics. In connection with this authoritative message it is proper to repeat the words used in the original announcement of Mr. Roosevelt's association with The Outlook: "Theodore Roosevelt has been recognized as a world leader. No one who knows him has believed that his leadership would cease with his retirement from the Presidency. We congratulate ourselves and our readers that this leadership, exercised for the past seven years in Presidential Messages, will be exercised in the future through the columns of The Outlook, which will be the exclusive channel for the expression of his views on political, industrial, and social topics."

The cable despatch above referred to was received on Thursday of last week from Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott, the President of the Outlook Company, who joined Mr. Roosevelt at Khartum, and is now with the Roosevelt party. It is probable that he will remain with it, and return to America with Mr. Roosevelt, who is expected to arrive here about June 17. Mr. Abbott in another cablegram, also received last week, requests us to say from Mr. Roosevelt that he not only is not expressing any opinion concerning American politics, but that he is not even forming any in his own mind, and will refrain from doing even the latter until sufficient time has elapsed after his return to America to enable him to become entirely familiar with the whole situation.

No one who knows Mr. Roosevelt would expect anything else. So far from acting on unconsidered impulse, as he has sometimes been charged with doing, he is not accustomed to decide any question until all the elements necessary to the decision are before him. Then his mind acts with expanding rapidity, and when a judgment has once been reached he rarely finds reason for changing it, because all the reasons have been duly weighed before the decision. The readers of The Outlook may therefore safely disregard all statements purporting to be reports of Mr. Roosevelt's political

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opinions. When he is ready, after his return, to declare his views on current political questions, whether through a public address or through The Outlook, it will be so done that there will be no possible question as to their authenticity.

MR. FOSS'S ELECTION

As showing how strong the current of popular feeling is running against the Aldrich-Cannon wing of the Republican party, the election held last week in the Fourteenth Massachusetts Congressional District is of interest to the whole country. It was necessary to fill the unexpired term of the late William C. Lovering, long an honored Representative in Congress. Mr. Lovering was a Republican. His district had always been Republican. Yet not only did Mr. Eugene Noble Foss, running as a Democrat, overturn the plurality of over fourteen thousand votes given in 1908, but he won the election by a plurality of more than five thousand votes. The district, known as The Old Colony, embraces that part of Massachusetts lying east of the Rhode Island line and south of Boston. It includes such important manufacturing towns as Brockton, Taunton, and Attleboro. Mr. Foss, a man of marked ability and energy, and the brother of Representative Foss of Illinois, is a manufacturer. The latter fact had weight in a manufacturing district. For years Mr. Foss has told the Massachusetts manufacturers just why they would be better off if we had tariff reform in general and Canadian reciprocity in particular. But when he twice made a fight for Congress as Republican candidate in another district, he failed, although then, and since, he urged his election, not only because he stood for lessened cost of living to the consumer and greater economic advantage to the manufacturer, but also because he wanted to rebuke the political oligarchy which in the House has ruled Republican Representatives there. What he could not get from the Republican party in Massachusetts he tried to get from the Democratic. As a Democrat, he became last year the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. But he was again defeated. Thus he had been unable to win official political place until the present agitation concerning the high cost of living afforded an unequaled opportunity. As he says, "My campaign was fought on the tariff issue, demanding reductions to lower the cost of living." Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, claiming that the tariff had nothing to do with high prices, and that increases had occurred chiefly in articles on which the tariff had been lowered, supported by his speeches the Republican candidate, Mr. Buchanan. Although Mr. Buchanan was defeated primarily by the cost-of-living issue, he was also defeated because of local causes. While Mr. Foss is now affiliated with the Democrats, by a curious coincidence Mr. Buchanan, who six years ago had helped to elect a Democrat, Governor Douglas, is now affiliated with the Republicans. Much dissatisfaction and consequent "knifing" existed in the district because of the means used in the Republican Convention to defeat Judge Harris, who had been expected to be the regular Republican nominee, and who was regarded by many as the most appropriate representative of that district.

MR. GARFIELD'S WARNING

Another political event in Massachusetts was significant. For the first time in its history, a Democratic State Senator was elected in the District of Springfield. Political events in the Central States have also been interesting. In Indiana, for instance, we find the Republicans of the Indianapolis District so far at variance as to be unable to adopt a platform. In Missouri the recent election to fill the unexpired term of the late David De Armond, a Democrat, resulted in an increase of several thousand Democratic votes, to a majority twice as large as the normal Democratic majority, though the new Representative, compared with Mr. De Armond, was practically unknown. What is the main reason for all this? It is popularly supposed to be the cost of living. Many causes contribute to that condition. Two of these causes, say the

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Democrats, are, first, the Republican failure to enact a tariff adequately meeting President Taft's ideal—to measure the difference in the cost of production here and abroad, and thus to lower prices—and, second, the Republican failure properly to supervise the food trusts. This was doubtless meant by the Hon. James R. Garfield, ex-Secretary of the Interior, in his speech last week at Cleveland, when he declared that we must provide for such regulation over corporations as will safeguard the public interest, prevent abuses, and make easier the enforcement of law against illegal or unfair business. "We are again preparing for a general election. The party and men responsible for the conduct of National and State affairs will be called to give an account of their stewardship." As a Republican, Mr. Garfield rightly declared that his party owed its success to the fact that all its great achievements have been progressive and aggressive. But "whenever any party fails to be progressive, that moment its usefulness begins to wane." The non-progressive is the "stand-patter." As Mr. Garfield says, the "stand-patter" is content to rest upon the fight that has been made, and to deceive himself with the belief that further contest is unnecessary; on the other hand, the "progressive" recognizes in the good obtained a fraction of what ought to be obtained. Finally, any vantage point gained is but a single step of the many to be taken in the long contest for securing those objects for which our Nation was created. We believe, with Mr. Garfield, that "the people will not be satisfied with inaction, or with makeshift legislation." If the present Federal legislative programme comprises makeshift legislation, as it did in the Withdrawal of Lands Bill, then it ought to be instantly amended, as was that bill at Mr. Garfield's timely suggestion to the Senate Committee on the Public Lands. To control legislation one party must control both branches of Congress. The Republicans can keep that control, if they will. To do so they must heed Mr. Garfield's warning in his Cleveland address; they must be known no longer as "stand-patters," but as progressives; no longer as representing makeshift legislation—to use Mr. Garfield's apt phrase—but as representing constructive legislation; no longer as representing special interests, but the whole people.

MR. BALLINGER AS ADMINISTRATOR

In the hearing before the so-called Pinchot-Ballinger Investigating Committee on March 19, Mr. F. H. Newell, who has gained a wide reputation as Director of the Reclamation Service, was called upon to testify. In general he corroborated the testimony already given by Mr. Davis, the Chief Engineer of the Service, regarding the withdrawals of water power sites, the water-users' certificates, the exoneration of an engineer who while in the employ of the Service received a retainer from a railway company, and other administrative matters. One of the criticisms of Mr. Ballinger relates to the demoralization in the Reclamation Service that is alleged to have resulted from his administration. An important point brought out regarding this matter for the first time was, strangely, elicited on cross-examination by Mr. Ballinger's counsel. One of the projects of the Reclamation Service involved the building of a dam in Arizona. The engineer in charge, exercising the authority which Mr. Newell said was reposed in him, suspended the work on the building of the dam during the hot months last summer. The action on the part of the engineer was supposed to be justified by a clause in the contract with the builder of the dam. There were two reasons for this action—one that the excessive heat would interfere with proper construction, and the other that it was desirable at that time to reduce expenditure. Naturally, the first reason only was announced to the contractor, as that was sufficient. The contractor protested against this decision; in fact, came on to Washington to ask the Department that the engineer be overruled. In conference with the contractor, Mr. Newell insisted on consulting the responsible engineer on the ground as to whether, by wetting the stones and rocks, the contractor could safely go on with the construction. In spite of the fact that the engineer in charge, in reply to a telegram, said that he did not recommend continuing the work, Mr. Pierce, Acting Secretary,

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without Mr. Newell's approval, directed that the suspension of the work be revoked. Mr. Newell said that he went to Mr. Pierce and told him that "it was a very dangerous thing for a man in his position to order an engineer in the field to put his work in that condition. It is like the Secretary of the Navy ordering the captain of a vessel to put his boat in dangerous waters." Later the order was somewhat modified. By his questions Mr. Vertrees evidently sought to explain this action on the ground that the original suspension was really ordered by Mr. Newell, and that in the conference at Washington he had acknowledged that the engineering difficulties were not conclusive; and that, the financial reason being the only one then in the way, the Secretary might well order a resumption of the work. To this statement of facts, however, Mr. Vertrees did not induce Mr. Newell to assent. That Mr. Ballinger, however, did not regard it as bad administrative practice for a Secretary to give orders over the heads of his lieutenants was not only brought out in the testimony, but was also clearly indicated in a scheme of reorganization of the Reclamation Service, as proposed by Mr. Ballinger last December, which was introduced in the evidence by Mr. Vertrees. According to this plan of reorganization, the construction work would be in charge of a consulting engineer who should report directly to the Secretary, and be in no respect subordinate to the Director. This plan, it should be said, however, after consultation with Mr. Newell, Mr. Ballinger did not adopt and has not since renewed.

THE PENSION AGENCIES

Last week there was an interchange of rôle between Insurgents and Regulars in the House of Representatives. The House happened to be in Committee of the Whole. Representative Prince, of Illinois, Chairman for the day, suddenly called from the chamber by a constituent, handed the gavel to Representative Norris, the Insurgent leader in last week's victorious fight against Cannonism. The House, generally gallant at such a juncture, applauded when Judge Norris took his seat. As the news became known, members hurriedly entered the chamber to witness the spectacle of the leading Insurgent sitting in Mr. Cannon's place and wielding the same gavel held by that redoubtable reactionary. As cleverly as Mr. Norris had taken advantage last week of an exigency to present a resolution which he had long had in his pocket, so he adroitly took advantage of his temporary elevation to interject a little lecture to the Regulars. The House was considering the Pension Appropriation Bill. As already reported in The Outlook, this measure proposes to abolish all of the pension agencies in the country, except of course the central agency in Washington. The bill was being opposed by many friends of members who represent districts in which pension agencies are located, members who resent a loss of political patronage. But for the nonce Mr. Norris regarded such Regulars as Insurgents, because they opposed the "regular" or committee programme. "The Insurgent tide ebbs and flows," he remarked. "The Regular of to-day is the Insurgent of to-morrow. It is written in the creed of regularity that it is the duty of all Regulars to stand by a committee of the House. As a Regular, I am amazed at the spectacle presented here to-day. We Regulars are trying to have the bill passed as it came from the committee. Obstacles have been placed in the way by dare-devil Insurgents. We find Representative Currier, chairman of the Republican caucus, among the Insurgents to-day. Incidentally we learn that he has a pension agency in his district. Another of the Insurgents is Mr. Hull, of Iowa, who also has a pension agency in his district. He is usually a Regular, but on this occasion he is off the reservation. Another Insurgent is Mr. Alexander, and also Mr. Boutell, who only yesterday was nominated as a Regular for a place on the Rules Committee. And there is Mr. Dalzell, one of the noblest Regulars of them all, insurging with all his might. He represents Pittsburgh, and Pittsburgh wants to hold its pension agency." It is a gratification to note that at the end of the lecture the House voted the pension agencies out of the pension bill; the Senate has yet to act, and should quickly follow the example set. Moreover, the House actually appropriated five million dollars *less* for pensions than it did last year!

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EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

The equal pay for equal work resolution was defeated recently in the New York City Board of Education by a vote of sixteen in the affirmative and twenty-three in the negative. This vote was taken at a special session called to consider the subject, and the decision must be regarded as practically final, unless the New York Legislature should intervene, overrule the Board of Education, and compel them to adopt a principle which they have rejected. Of the four women members of the Board, three voted against the resolution, an act which required some courage, and in our view sound judgment as well. We repeat what we have heretofore said, that there are two fundamental objections to this specious but unsound aphorism. The first is that men and women cannot do equal work. One of the speakers at the Board of Education characterized the resolution felicitously when he said, "What is proposed is not equal pay for equal work, but equal pay for equal age." The ablest of men cannot do as good work in teaching a kindergarten as a competent woman; the ablest woman cannot do as good work in superintending a school of boys from fourteen to eighteen as a competent man. The little children need a woman's influence, which a man cannot exercise. The boys in their teens need a man's influence, which a woman cannot exercise. The other objection is that it is the business of a Board of Education to secure the best teachers they can for the money which is furnished them. They are to administer the schools in the interests of the children, not in the interests of the teachers. The law of supply and demand may not absolutely control the rate of wages, but it is not to be disregarded in determining the rate of wages. To these objections may be added a third: If this principle were adopted, and the women's pay were raised to equal the amount now paid men, many women teachers would be discharged and men would take their places, because women are now doing work which men could do better. If, on the other hand, the equalization were made by reducing the men's wages to the sums now paid to the women, there would be a general exodus of men from the public schools, which would become a wholly feminine institution, and this would almost inevitably be followed by an exodus of many of the male pupils, with disastrous results to the community.

ROGUES CONFESSED

Not since the San Francisco Supervisors tumbled over one another in their haste to make confession and secure immunity has there been such a wholesale admission of guilt as was presented last week by Pittsburgh's bribe-takers. It was understood that Tuesday would be the last day when the District Attorney would receive confessions and offers to turn State's evidence, and at the end of that day the score stood: confessions, twenty; indictments, thirty-seven; implicated but not yet indicted, sixteen. It is not impossible that when the full story is known nearly a hundred persons may be implicated, including present and former members of Councils and those who gave the bribes. The story of the widespread municipal corruption involved has already been told in The Outlook. Through remarkable detective work on the part of Mr. Robert Wilson, who has been called "an evangelist of civic righteousness," direct evidence was obtained that certain ordinances—such as those for paving streets with wooden blocks, for establishing a filter-bed, and for making certain banks depositaries for city funds—had been secured by cash bribes. In one case a flashlight photograph was secured of a Councilman in the very act of receiving a proffered bribe. The chief agent for distributing the money was John F. Klein, who has already been convicted and sent to jail. His testimony, it is hoped, will bring to justice the bribe-givers. Klein's story is a revelation of the cheapness with which the honesty of members of Councils was purchased, for most of the sums ranged from $50 to $250. Klein even tells of one man to whom he handed $81, and who "yelled like a stuck pig for the extra ten cents," because "$81.10 was the standard price in that deal." A curious commentary on this bribe investigation is the statement of one paper that "there is great uneasiness, and business in Pittsburgh has fallen off thirty-five per cent in the last four days, owing to interest in the graft scandal." It is to

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be hoped that this interest will continue and insist that those who are ultimately responsible for the shameful and contemptible dishonesty shall receive signal punishment.

CHICAGO "WET" OR "DRY"?

The Anti-Saloon League of Illinois is showing its daring by carrying the fight for prohibition into the city of Chicago. At the election of April 5, at which members of the City Council are to be chosen, the electors will have a chance to vote for the complete suppression of the liquor traffic in that city. This vote will be taken under the provisions of the so-called local option law passed by the Legislature of Illinois in 1907, under the operation of which saloons have been driven from many of the cities and villages of the State, among them cities of such size as Rockford and Decatur. The submission of the question required the filing with the election officials of a petition bearing the signatures of twenty-five per cent of the voters. The city is now in the midst of an exciting campaign. The interest in the contest is evidenced by the fact that in the one day allowed for the registration of voters whose names were not already on the lists, over 112,000 new names were added. This is a far larger registration than on corresponding days in previous years. If the proposition carries, it will be unlawful within thirty days thereafter for the city of Chicago to continue to grant licenses of any kind for the sale of liquor, except by druggists under very rigid restrictions. The serving of liquor by hotels and clubs will be included in the interdiction. The champions of the anti-saloon proposition have not professed belief that it will actually carry, but they do expect a surprisingly large vote. Many persons doubtless will support the anti-saloon proposition by their ballots on election day, as a protest against abuses connected with the sale of liquor, who might not do so if they thought their votes might actually mean the adoption of complete prohibition for Chicago. Local option ought to be applied to cities as well as to towns and rural regions; but in a city of such size as Chicago it ought to be applied by districts within the city. Some apprehension is felt lest the raising of the prohibition issue may exercise a detrimental effect upon the selection of candidates for Aldermen, and thus give Chicago a setback in its Council, which has been growing steadily better for a number of years past. Such agencies as the Municipal Voters' League and the principal newspapers are striving to avoid such an outcome by urging voters to disregard the exciting issue of prohibition in marking their ballots for candidates.

A NATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE FINE ARTS

It is a satisfaction to chronicle the passage through the House of Representatives of Mr. McCall's bill to establish a Commission of Fine Arts. We wish it quick passage in the Senate. It carries out much of President Roosevelt's idea in creating, as he did, a Council of Fine Arts. Mr. Roosevelt was the first President to recommend the establishment by legislation of such a commission. But, perhaps aware that his recommendation would not be enacted into law, he himself created by Executive order a National Council of Fine Arts, consisting of thirty members. Some Congressmen declared themselves hostile to the Council because, as they alleged, it was named in violation of law. Others said that the President's order establishing the Council abridged the power of Congress to legislate! Still others said that in establishing a Fine Arts Council by Executive order the President had forestalled Congress, and had made it appear that in no other way could the establishment of such a body be caused. Finally, it was urged that the commission had no legal power and could act merely as advisory to the Executive. While of course it could have no legal authority unless that was conferred by legislation, it could and did have great æsthetic influence and moral authority, and hence The Outlook commended President Roosevelt's action. Bills had just been introduced, however, by Senator Newlands and Representative Bartholdt providing that the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury should hereafter be known as the Bureau of Arts and Public Buildings, and that the Supervising Architect should be termed the Director of Arts

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and Public Buildings. It was proposed to authorize the President to appoint, subject to confirmation by the Senate, an Advisory Council of ten members, to be known as the Council of Arts, their duties being to aid the Director of Arts and Public Buildings by their advice. This year Mr. McCall, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill which reduced the more elaborate bills of last year to their lowest terms. According to the McCall bill, the President is authorized to appoint, *not* subject to confirmation by the Senate (an improvement over the former bills), seven artists of repute as a Commission of Fine Arts. This Commission is to have authority to decide upon the location of statues and monuments in the public squares, streets, and parks of the District of Columbia. The Commission is also to advise in the selection of models for statues and monuments erected under the authority of the United States, and in the selection of artists for their execution, and generally to advise upon questions of art. In last year's bills, as in the McCall bill, the members of the Council were to serve without compensation, but the expenses necessarily incurred were to be paid from the Treasury. It is expected that most of the members of the proposed Commission will be chosen from the members of the Roosevelt Council. On account of the hostility of the House to commissions, it was supposed that the McCall bill had not much chance of passage. The gratification at the result, therefore, will be all the greater.

ARCHITECTURAL BAD MANNERS

The need of such a Commission has long been evident, not only with regard to the subjects specified above, but especially with regard to landscape and architecture. The laying out of parks is the fundamental and most important element on which the character of design of buildings and statuary is, or should be, based. Architecture is the next most important element. Probably in order to pass any bill through the House it was necessary to omit these two subjects. Should they be inserted in the bill as it is now before the Senate, it would be interesting to observe whether, in conference, the House might not be brought to include landscape at least. Reactionary opposition would very likely be centered on architecture, for our Federal edifices have been only too often monuments of Congressional patronage. At the present time the Government owns more than six hundred public buildings. They have probably cost five hundred million dollars. Not only have they cost too much; many of them are architecturally deficient. Take such structures as the State, War, and Navy Building in Washington, the New York, Boston, and Washington Post-Offices, and other architectural aberrations which remind one more of children's block houses than the serious attempt by mature men to erect something which would not offend good taste either in line or proportion. Again and again the American Institute of Architects has recommended the establishment of some advisory council on the just ground that the Government is really bound to give the people the best artistic product that can be had for their money. We trust that the result of these efforts will be a disinterested tribunal of acknowledged authorities in art which will save the Government not only money now wasted, but, what is really of more account, an exhibition of architectural and sculptural bad manners.

THE NEW EXHIBITIONS AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

The opening of the Metropolitan Museum's new wing is an important event. The wing comprises a large central hall surrounded by two stories of smaller galleries, making in all twenty-five exhibition rooms. It will be known as the wing of decorative arts. It houses examples, dating from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, of work in wood, metal, glass, tapestry, and pottery. Of these the work in wood will probably have the widest popular appeal, for the exhibition is specially interesting in furniture. The Directors of the Museum have wisely heeded the warnings of those whose wood carvings, imported from abroad, have suffered from the frequent changes of temperature characteristic of our climate. Accordingly, the new wing is to have an equable climate of its own, not varying much from 64° Fahrenheit and 65° humidity. Folding doors separate the wing from the rest of

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the Museum. All the examples of decorative art are arranged in periods according to their sequence of time. Thus one room is devoted to the Gothic, another to the Italian Renaissance, another to the Flemish, and so on. One goes from a seventeenth-century group, with its Elizabethan chests and tables, to the Dutch forms of the early eighteenth century, the "highboy" and "lowboy" chests, and twisted-leg tables, and finally to the more familiar Chippendale, Hepplewhite, and Sheraton forms. The most ample contribution is of course the Hoentschel collection, the purchase of which, four years ago, by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, was the starting-point from which the plan of the Museum's new wing was developed, as well as the new system of distributing the objects of decorative art. The Outlook described the Gothic section of the Hoentschel collection at the time of its exhibition, but the eighteenth-century section has not yet been seen by the public. In the American section one finds the Bolles collection of furniture recently noticed in The Outlook, and acquired by the Museum through the generosity of Mrs. Russell Sage. The whole exhibition is not only of importance as illuminating the history of art, but as forming a background of the life of other days. In another part of the Museum a special collection of the works of the late James McNeill Whistler has now been opened. There are nearly fifty numbers in oil, water-color, and pastel. These works are well shown, for they are not crowded together, hence one is not as fatigued as at the recent exhibition of the works of Whistler in Boston, when too much juxtaposition detracted from the appreciation of the various phases of that artist's genius—his sensitiveness and delicacy as well as his boldness and vigor. For the present show, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh have been generous lenders, as have been certain private collectors. Fortunately, the catalogue follows the chronological order. Perhaps no Whistler exhibition has ever revealed the comprehensiveness—the variety in unity—of that master more than does the present show. Certainly it should be seen by all lovers of art.

"THE FASTEST THING IN TOWN"

"The Fastest Thing in Town." A billboard containing this legend in lurid colors, with the name of a theater following, hung last week from a window of the vine-clad stone tower of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York City. The fine old building was being demolished. It is to make place for a commercial sky-scraper. Perhaps it was right that this should happen, perhaps not. But, in any event, here was a historic church, one of the outposts of Christianity when the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street was a purely residential district. The walls have been hallowed by the ministrations of a long line of clergy, Howard Crosby's being the most distinguished name in the list. Many a man has regarded these walls with reverence. They are now sold. The buyer then sells a right to use them, before their demolishment, to a billboard company. They become an advertisement for "The Fastest Thing in Town." This is all wrong. Like any other form of advertising, billboards may be æsthetic or unæsthetic. Those on the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church were horribly unæsthetic. But, in addition and in particular, they wounded the sensibilities of many church folk. In these latter days we have regulation of a number of public utilities. Advertising is a public utility. Let us have regulation of it, too. That this is a more or less universal feeling in this country may be gathered from certain recent court decisions. For instance, Missouri's Supreme Court has hit a telling blow at billboards in a decision to the effect that the St. Louis ordinance regulating them is constitutional, and a valid exercise of the police power, in that billboards are a menace to the health of the community, and that they often interfere with police work by affording shelter for criminals, aiding them in eluding the police. Justice Woodson, in delivering the opinion of the Court, said:

> Speaking generally, the plaintiff's business consisted of outdoor advertising, displayed at conspicuous points and places by means of pictures, signs, and letters. The more conspicuous and public the place, the greater is the desire to cover it with that class of advertising. The privacy of the home, places of public resort, retreats for rest and recre-

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ation, seats of learning, and even the sanctity of the church, are as much within the shadows of the structures herein described as are the vacant lots and commanding views along the thoroughfares of the city. The walls and roofs of many residences and business houses are not exempt from this intrusion. While all kinds of business and merchandise are advertised by this means of display, yet observation and common experience teach us that probably the greater per cent thereof proclaim the newest and choicest brands of liquors, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, and announcements of plays which are to be presented at the theaters. They offer shelter and concealment for the criminal while lying in wait for his victim. And last, but not least, they obstruct the light, sunshine, and air which are conducive to health and comfort. While advertising, as stated, is a legitimate and honorable business, yet the evils incident to this class of advertising are more numerous and base in character than those incident to the numerous other businesses which are considered *malo in se*, and which, for that reason, may not only be regulated and controlled, but may be entirely suppressed for the public good under the police power of the State. My individual opinion is that this class of advertising, as now conducted, is not only subject to control and regulation by the police power of the State, but that it might be entirely suppressed by statute, and that, too, without offending either against the State or the city.

The Supreme Court overruled the lower court and dismissed the injunction which had been secured against the city officials to restrain them from enforcing the ordinance for which the St. Louis Civic League was responsible. In fact, the victory is the League's. Not only did it draft the ordinance, but its pamphlets on the subject were more fully quoted from than were the arguments of the City Counselor.

THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT'S GUARANTEED CIGARS

The hundred and fifty million Manila cigars now annually to be imported into this country free of duty under the Payne Law are already menacing the home output, say certain of our cigar manufacturers. Manila is said to have the largest manufacturing plants in the world. They are not only large, but clean as well. The plants do not consist, as might be expected, of wooden buildings, badly kept and managed in the style usual in the Far East. Instead, they are among the finest edifices in Manila. They are built of brick, steel, and concrete, with every device for ventilation and sanitation. The floors are of concrete and are as clean as any floors can be. No smoking in the factories is allowed—not the rule in Cuba or the United States. Workmen are compelled to wear clean white duck. One factory employs four thousand men and women (all native Filipinos), and another three thousand. The factories as well as the employees are regularly visited by representatives of the Health Bureau of the Philippine Government. But as these sanitary conditions were misrepresented, and as cigars were sold in the United States for Philippine cigars which were in no sense such, Colonel Colton, now Governor of Porto Rico, and then Philippine Inspector of Internal Revenues, felt that unless the quality of Philippine tobacco could be maintained, the trade in this country might be destroyed in its incipiency. A year ago he recommended, therefore, to the Philippine Government the attachment of certificates to each package, not only of cigars, but of cigarettes and other manufactured tobacco to be sent to this country, showing the Philippine Internal Revenue officers' inspection as to grade and the Health Department's as to cleanliness. Last summer the Government thereupon adopted the following stamp:

> Philippine Islands. Official Cigar Export Stamp. Manufactured, Graded, and Packed Under Government Supervision. Quality Standard for this brand. Made by cleanly operatives in a Sanitary Factory under control of the Bureau of Health, from sound Philippine Tobacco grown in the Cagayan Valley. Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Government of the Philippine Islands.

Thus the stamp indicates both the grade of tobacco used and the cleanliness of manufacture and packing. Other Governments—the French, the Austrian, for example—inspect cigar factories and provide certificates indicating the grade of tobacco used. But the Philippine Government's action is the first distinctly to guarantee cleanliness as well as quality. The Governmental stamp has aroused certain of our home cigar manufacturers. They declare that certain private persons have advertised the stamp as being a Government stamp, and have thus magnified the importance of the Philippine product. The implication is that it is a United

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States stamp; whereas it is in fact a stamp of the Philippine Government. The Secretary of War now recommends to the Philippine Government such additional emphasis of language as to leave no doubt as to authority. As a matter of fact, the stamp has been a protection to cigarmakers both in the Islands and in the United States, because it limits the number of cigars from the Islands coming to the United States to those of better grade and higher price.

PROTECT THE FAMILY

No vital public interest attracts less public attention than the family, the social unit, at least the primary social group. The single organization which stands for this interest, and for a scientific and practical treatment of its central problems, is the League for the Protection of the Family, whose recent annual report abounds in valuable matter. Economic and other modern conditions have caused a disintegration of the family that has been growing, the most striking phenomenon of which is the increasing frequency of divorce. The Government Report of 1909 on Marriage and Divorce—a summary of whose chief points is issued by the League—shows this increase to be world-wide, though larger in volume here than elsewhere, 75,000 divorces occurring annually here. The divorce problem is but a part of the inclusive problem of the family, and this has become, in the investigation of facts, causes, and remedies, a scientific problem both complicated and delicate. Such investigation has come upon the subtle and wide working of venereal disease as a potent factor in the problem, and a recent State law in Washington strikes at this baleful evil. Desirable legislation has made large advance during the last twenty years in nearly two hundred amendments to our marriage laws, and over one hundred, mostly for betterment, to our divorce laws. The report of the League specifies the gains of the last year, and gives large space to European usages. But with all such gains the present condition of the problem of the family urgently summons the religious and educational forces to greater activity. The weakest point in our educational system is now the home. The Church has multiplied societies for taking over the natural work of the home. Whether it is properly active in efforts to reinvigorate and purify the home is, or ought to be, one of the burning questions. The League is doing a work of the highest National importance with pitifully meager pecuniary resources, supplemented by the devotedness of its Secretary, Dr. S. W. Dike, of Auburndale, Massachusetts, a specialist of international repute. Nothing in the range of an enlightened public spirit is more worthy of liberal support.

A POLITICAL BALANCE SHEET

Mr. Taft has now been in office for a little more than a quarter of his Presidential term. This is time enough to enable the country to form some estimate of his Administration. That there is a widespread feeling of disappointment cannot be questioned even by Mr. Taft's most loyal friends, for Mr. Taft has himself on more than one occasion publicly recognized the fact. This disappointment is not wholly without reason, or it would not be so widespread. That it is wholly reasonable we do not believe. How far reasonable, how far unreasonable, may best appear by a political balance sheet.

Our admiration for Mr. Taft's disinterested career, for his judicial ability, for his kindly nature, for his evident purpose to render the best public service he can whatever the sacrifice to himself, and for his integrity of character and hatred of shams and corruption, shall not prevent us from endeavoring to make this balance sheet impartial and unprejudiced.

The President of the United States has three political functions, two Constitutional, one extra-Constitutional.

As a participant in the legislative work of the Government he is to recommend legislation to Congress; and by his veto, whenever necessary, to compel Congress to reconsider legislation which he disapproves.

As chief executive he is intrusted with the execution of the laws and the administration of the business of the Government.

Elected by the votes of his party and representing no section and no faction, he has become the natural leader of his

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party, for whose acts the party is responsible and whose guidance it naturally follows.

What has he accomplished: As legislative adviser? As executive head? As party leader?

I—AS LEGISLATIVE ADVISER

As legislative adviser Mr. Taft has laid before Congress an admirable programme. It includes all the measures to which the Republican party was pledged. He has formulated these measures with a detail before unknown in our political history, in a number of instances submitting to Congress carefully drawn bills. He has done this in such detail as to subject himself to criticism. This criticism The Outlook regards as unfounded. There is no reason why the President, directly or through the members of his Cabinet, should not draft and propose to Congress specific bills, provided they are proposed, not for unconsidered acceptance, but for the deliberate and careful consideration of that body. The gossip that the President has regarded as a personal affront criticism of these measures, or that he has withheld or proposed to withhold patronage from Congressmen who criticise, we disregard, as throughout this article we disregard everything except the public, unquestioned history of the past year.

In the main, this programme submitted by the President to Congress is an admirable one. In the main it embodies in carefully thought out details the general proposals of his predecessor, and adds some provisions for carrying out those proposals not before suggested. And more of this programme has been favorably considered by Congress than the country realizes.

He has proposed and the Congress has adopted an amended Tariff Law, which, whatever its merits or demerits (of which we shall speak later), has four features of far-reaching significance: the Customs Court, which provides for a less autocratic and more just method of determining disputed questions arising under the law; the maximum and minimum provision, which makes it possible for the President to negotiate reciprocal trade relations with other countries which special interests have prevented the Senate from doing; the initiation of practical free trade with the Philippines; a Tariff Board, which will almost certainly lead to a further and more scientific adjustment of the tariff in the near future.

He has proposed and the Congress has adopted, as a part of the Tariff Law, a Corporation Tax Law, which will considerably increase the Federal revenues; will do this by collecting the tax from those who are best able to bear it and from whom it is most justly due, the owners of wealth-producing property; and will bring all the fiscal operations of the corporations under Governmental supervision, as now are the fiscal operations of the banks.

He has proposed and the Senate has adopted:

A Postal Savings Bank Bill, which the friends of the public welfare have been urging for years in vain;

A bill to preserve the seals in the Pribylov Islands from continued destruction;

A Reclamation Service Bill authorizing a borrowing of $30,000,000 for the purposes of reclamation.

He has proposed and the House has adopted:

A bill for increasing the number of safety appliances on freight trains, thus safeguarding the lives of thousands of trainmen; and a bill providing for an investigation by the Inter-State Commerce Commission of all important railway accidents, thus tending to safeguard the lives of thousands of passengers;

A bill to render employers liable for accidents to their employees, following the precedents set by other countries which in this respect are in advance of America;

A bill to establish a National Art Commission on the lines advocated by Mr. Roosevelt.

And he has recommended to Congress for its consideration, and the Senate or the House is considering, measures:

To authorize the withdrawal of mining and forest lands and water power sites in the discretion of the President;

To create the White Mountain, Appalachian, and other reserves on forested watersheds and make the necessary appropriations therefor;

To lessen the hindrances to prompt

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action by the Inter-State Commerce Commission by creating a special Court which shall have exclusive jurisdiction of all appeals from the decisions of the Commission; and to increase the power of the Commission in material respects;

To lessen delay in other judicial proceedings;

To prevent the abuse of the injunction power of the courts;

To make it possible for Porto Ricans to become citizens of the United States by a quasi-naturalization process;

To re-classify the grades in the navy for the purpose of increasing its efficiency;

To make public all contributions to the elections of Representatives and Senators, and to all National campaign committees.

Mr. Taft has not initiated all these measures, perhaps not a majority of them; but we believe that all have been recommended by him, most of them officially; some of them have been drawn in detail by him or his associates in office; all have had his personal support; and nearly all of them have been approved in Congressional committee. Mr. Taft's record as legislative adviser is a remarkable one; worthy of far more consideration and praise than have been bestowed upon it.

II—AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE

On one fundamental point The Outlook and President Taft are in radical disagreement. We understand President Taft to hold that the Executive is the servant of the legislative body and can do nothing which the laws do not expressly authorize him to do. We hold that the President and the Congress are both the servants of the people; and that in the case of the public interests the President can do anything which the laws or the Constitution do not explicitly forbid him to do. Thus Mr. Taft holds that he has no right to withdraw public lands from private settlement unless a law of Congress authorizes him to do so. We hold that the President may withdraw such lands from public settlement unless the law expressly forbids him to do so. But this question of the relative rights and duties of the President and the Congress is one on which the country has not clearly expressed its opinion. If the country does not believe that Mr. Taft's view of his own powers and duties is correct, that may be a reason for not electing him for a second term; but it is no reason for suspecting that in condemning his administrative conduct in the present term, all the powers which he believes himself to possess have not been exercised in the public interest and for the public welfare. That it has been his controlling purpose to exercise his powers in the public interest and for the public welfare we do not think any impartial student of current history can doubt; and in the exercise of those powers he has done more than the country gives him credit for doing.

He has carried out and somewhat extended the Civil Service principles maintained by his immediate predecessors in office, especially Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt:

By requiring census supervisors and enumerators to abstain from political activity;

By proposing to reduce the eighteen pension agencies to one agency;

By establishing examinations for entrance to the Diplomatic Service; classifying the secretaryships, providing an efficiency record by means of regular reports to the President at stated intervals, and filling all the higher grades solely by promotion from lower grades.

He has successfully urged economy upon all the departments; an earlier and more thorough consideration of the estimates; their consideration at Cabinet meetings with a view to their common relationship. The result has been a saving in the Navy and War Department estimates alone of $41,000,000 over those of last year.

He is prosecuting vigorously cases instituted by the preceding Administration against dishonesty in high finance circles, and violators of the Anti-Trust Law.

He has temporarily withdrawn, while awaiting Congressional action, nearly twenty million acres of mineral lands and water power sites, and under his Administration the area of National Forests has been increased to almost two hundred million acres. And this has been done despite a pressure from private interests which the general public cannot easily realize.

These excellencies in his Administration

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ought not to be forgotten, as they sometimes are, in the criticisms to which some serious administrative defects have given rise.

In the main, his appointments to public office have been excellent. The exceptions have not perhaps been greater than in previous administrations. But the public standard has been raised, and the public mind is more alert and more critical. There have been some appointments which have raised the not unreasonable suspicion that they were a concession to improper political influence or the payment of a political debt. The country expected so much from Mr. Taft that these appointments have been the more seriously reckoned against him. But these lapses from the public ideal might have passed quickly into oblivion were it not for three serious administrative errors.

Order 1142, prohibiting any subordinate in any Department from responding to requests for information from any member of Congress except as authorized by the head of the Department, was unnecessary. The business of the country had been transacted for over a century with free access, not only by Congressmen, but by the press and the public, to information, save in specially excepted cases, and the country had suffered no harm. It was ill-advised. Building an opaque wall about the Departments is the way to cover up fraud within and to create suspicion without. This order, coming at the very time when there were charges of corrupt conduct within one of the Departments, intensified the public suspicion. The business of the public ought to be publicly conducted. The perils from too great secrecy are far greater than the perils from too great publicity. No one suspects Mr. Taft of any intention to cover up fraud. But many do suspect that this will be the inevitable effect of the order, and that this purpose may have been in the minds of advisers who suggested it.

Mr. Taft is, by temperament as well as by training, a judge. A judge does not decide a controversy until the parties have defined their respective claims and are ready to present their case. An executive does not wait for a controversy to ripen into a quarrel. He interferes at the beginning, and settles it in its incipient stages, either by mutual adjustment or by immediate and positive decision. Mr. Taft, by leaving the controversy between the Forestry Bureau and the Interior Department to assume the proportions of a personal quarrel, and by not interfering until the controversy was brought to him by Mr. Glavis for adjudication, has allowed the contention to divide not only the Republican party into two factions, but the people into two parties, to the great injury of his Administration, the great peril of the party, and a possible hazard to the whole policy of National conservation which he has so much at heart.

Mr. Taft was needed at the head of affairs for the first year of his Administration. This need was the greater because the Cabinet officers were new to their duties and to each other, in their official if not in their personal relations. Mr. Taft's long tour about the country left the Administration without a head. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy was one result. The Knox-Crane incident was another result. The general impression that the Administration lacks team work, that the Government is carried on by Departments, not by a unified Administration, that Mr. Taft is a judge of measures rather than a leader of men, and a public teacher rather than a public executive, is another result. We do not say that this impression is well founded; we do say that it is widespread. And if Mr. Taft is to bring back to his Administration the ebbing confidence in it, he must find some means to overcome this impression.

III—A PARTY LEADER

It is impossible at this writing to determine whether or not Mr. Taft is a successful party leader. The successful party leader makes the party organization work with him; the unsuccessful party leader works with the organization. Thus defined, Mr. Hughes is a more efficient party leader than Mr. Platt. Thus defined, Mr. Lincoln was a great party leader; Mr. Pierce was not.

Mr. Taft compelled the reluctant Republican party to take up the tariff issue. He compelled it to adopt in its platform a principle which, honestly applied, would

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have required a far more radical revision than the Republican Congress furnished. That was natural; platforms are always more radical than performances. He also won from Congress legislation which is almost certain to involve further tariff reform in the future. And, what is more important, he did what no one in many a year had been able to do: he compelled the Republican party to commit itself as a party to a phase of tariff reform. If, when the disappointing bill was passed, Mr. Taft had gone before the country and said, This is not all I wanted; this is not all you wanted; but it is one step, and an important step, toward reform, and further steps are provided for in the bill itself, the country would have responded. But when he commended the bill as satisfying the country's ideals, and when he commended the men who had put the bill through Congress as leaders to be followed, and when he condemned as anti-Republican the men who had fought for legislation more fully in accord with the Republican platform, it was impossible for him to carry the country with him. The people began to think that he was working with the machine, not the machine with him. They did not doubt his honesty. The continuing faith in Mr. Taft is a fine testimony to his character and to the people's just estimate of the nobility of that character. But when they see Mr. Aldrich, whom they believe to be the representative of special interests, and Mr. Taft, whom they believe to be the representative of the public welfare, standing on the same platform, co-operating to the same end, and sponsors for the same legislation, they cannot but wonder which one is leading, which one is following.

And this perplexity of the people is accentuated by the fact that the "regulars," both in the Senate and in the House, vociferously claim Mr. Taft as their ally. The President was, in our judgment, absolutely right in refusing to take any part, make any utterance, or exercise any influence on the controversy respecting the Rules in the House of Representatives. But that enforced silence was made full use of by the advocates of Cannon and Cannonism, and it cannot be denied that their noisy claim, echoing through the press, has produced some effect on the public mind. We do not believe that Mr. Taft is an ally of Cannon and Cannonism. We do not believe that he is an ally of the special interests which Cannon and Tawney and Dalzell in the House and Aldrich and his immediate followers in the Senate represent. But, if he would save his Administration from defeat, he must find some way either to compel them to follow his lead or to dissociate himself from them in the public mind. If he can succeed in carrying through Congress a fair proportion of the measures for the regulation of the railways and the conservation of the public resources which he has commended to Congress, and can take such action as will give the public the assurance that these measures will be efficiently carried into effect by the subordinates to whose hands their especial administration is confided, he may yet dissipate the present feeling of dissatisfaction, and save both Congress and his Administration from defeat at the next election. But he cannot do that and also save the representatives of the special interests. He must either defeat them in Congress or hazard defeat at the polls for himself and his party.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The Liberal Government's plan for dealing with the House of Lords has at last been made public by the Prime Minister. It proposes three things: First, that the House of Lords be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a money bill; secondly, that the power of the House of Lords over other bills be so restricted by law that a bill which has passed the House of Commons at two successive sessions, and has been rejected by the Lords each time, shall nevertheless become a law without the consent of the Lords on being passed by the Commons at a third session, provided, however, that two years shall have passed between the first introduction of the bill and its final passage; and, thirdly, that the life of a Parliament shall be restricted to five years instead of seven as at present.

The resolutions proposed by Lord Rosebery, which were reported in The

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Outlook last week, have been adopted by the House of Lords. So that there are now before the British people two plans for the reform of the hereditary chamber—or rather one definite and drastic plan, and one tentative statement of a principle on which a plan may be built up. Mr. Asquith proposes that if the House of Commons remains through three sessions, covering at least two years, determined upon the passage of a certain measure, it shall be able to legislate without reference to the wishes of the House of Lords. Lord Rosebery proposes that the basis of membership of the House of Lords be substantially altered in order to make of it a stronger second chamber, and that as a first step in that direction the principle be recognized that "possession of a peerage shall no longer in itself give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords." These two proposals look in quite different directions. One seeks a weaker second chamber, the other a stronger one. One aims to increase the power and authority of the House of Commons, the other to make of the House of Lords a more efficient revising chamber with more nearly co-ordinate powers.

The relation of the three elements in the British Government—the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons—has, like the British Constitution itself, been the result of evolution and historic development. The Crown from a position of more or less absolute sway has come, through successive curtailments, modifications, and new interpretations of its prerogative, to a state of powerlessness and inactivity. "The King can do no wrong;" hence there must be some one other than the monarch to accept responsibility for his every public act. This responsibility rests upon the King's Ministers, and it is only upon their advice that he can act. Through the development of this principle has grown up the predominating power of the Ministry or Cabinet, an unofficial committee of the House of Commons, or rather of the political party having a majority in the House of Commons. Not only does the Cabinet exercise the executive functions of the Government, and perform almost every act which is done in the name of the Crown, but, as has been said with almost literal truth, "the Cabinet legislates with the advice and consent of Parliament."

Like the Crown, the House of Lords has undergone far-reaching changes. The House of Lords was under the Norman sovereigns the King's Council, an assemblage of feudal Barons or those men who held land direct from the Crown. The embryo Parliament then consisted of but the single chamber, its membership drawn from an aristocracy of landowners, closely bound to the Crown by their position of immediate vassalage. In the middle of the thirteenth century the commons were first called to sit in Parliament, and about eighty years later the separation into two houses was complete. Gradually the new estate of the realm—the commoners—acquired more and more power, especially over financial legislation.

Membership in the House of Lords was at first based on the holding of land from the King, and, as Professor Freeman has said, "the hereditary character came in like other things, step by step, by accident rather than by design." But the chamber has never been an exclusively hereditary one, and is not so now. Its membership at the present time consists of 3 peers of the blood royal, 545 peers of England, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom (including 22 dukes, 23 marquesses, 123 earls, 42 viscounts, 335 barons) whose right to a seat in the House is hereditary, 2 archbishops and 24 bishops, 16 Scottish peers, elected by their fellow peers for each Parliament, 28 Irish peers, elected by their fellows for life, and 4 law-lords, appointed by the Crown for life. Of the 545 holders of hereditary peerages, 170 are, so to speak, the first of their name—that is, they have been made peers in their own persons and have not inherited their peerages. The House of Lords, therefore, is by no means entirely a hereditary body, for at the present moment one hundred and seventy-four members are in it because of personal achievement, twenty-six members represent the Established Church, forty-four are the selection of their fellow peers in Ireland and Scotland. Nevertheless the hereditary principle has great strength, being represented at the present time by three hundred and seventy-eight out of a total membership of six hundred and twenty-two.

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For a long time the opinion has been widespread among men of all parties that the House of Lords is in need of some measure of reform. The Conservative party has subscribed to the general proposition; and even the House of Lords itself, as is shown by the adoption of Lord Rosebery's resolution, is prepared to assist in its own reformation. But alongside of this agreement that something is the matter with the House of Lords there is the widest possible disagreement as to just what is the matter. The Liberal party find unconquerable objection to the Upper Chamber as it now exists, in the fact that it is overwhelmingly Conservative. For example, the Lloyd-George Budget was rejected in the House of Lords by three hundred and fifty Conservative votes to seventy-five Liberal votes. Because of this fact the House of Lords has become, instead of a conservative body which acts as a drag on hasty legislation and delays radical action until the nation shall have clearly expressed its judgment, an attachment or instrument of the Conservative, or Unionist party. The House of Lords, says Professor Lowell, "has become, for party purposes, an instrument in the hands of the Tory leaders, who use it as a bishop or knight of their own color on the chessboard of party politics." Whenever the Liberals have been in office for the past quarter of a century the Lords have used their power against the Government, and used it in such a way as to make it clear that their purpose was to help the Conservative party and not simply to check hasty and radical legislation. In 1906, for instance, two Government measures were sent to the Lords by the Commons. One of them was a decidedly radical measure, and one to which a Chamber of conservative temperament might well object, but it was passed by the Lords without amendment. The other involved no profound question of principle and made no great change among English institutions, but it was a bone of contention between the two parties. This bill the House of Lords summarily rejected. The relationship of the two houses has been aptly, though perhaps a little extremely, characterized by one of the Liberal leaders in replying to the charge that the proposals of the Liberal party would, in effect, produce a single-chamber Parliament: "A single-chamber Parliament is exactly what we have now; when the Conservatives are in power there is no House of Lords, when the Liberals are in power there is no House of Commons." It is asserted, and rightly, that the true function of the House of Lords is to provide a referendum to the people for important questions on which it is not clear that they have already expressed their judgment. But, in the words of Professor Lowell, "a power to provide a referendum or appeal to the people, which is always used in favor of one party and against the others, however popular it may be at a given moment, and however much it may be permanently satisfactory to the party that it helps, cannot fail in the long run to be exceedingly annoying to its rival; nor is it likely to commend itself to the great mass of thinking men as a just and statesmanlike institution."

It is this aspect of the House of Lords —as a Chamber always overwhelmingly Conservative in tone—that stands most in need of reformation. This opinion is held by the present Liberal Government, and its method for producing this reformation is by strictly curtailing the power of the House of Lords, and correspondingly increasing almost to the point of absoluteness the power of the House of Commons. We believe, however, that in this proposal Mr. Asquith and his associates are wrong. The single-chamber legislative body has never approved itself to the wisest statesmen and students of political science. In no great country has it been adopted, and in no country has it been an unqualified success. A strong second chamber is, we believe, essential to the preservation of democracy. But such a second chamber should have within itself the possibility of changing its political complexion, just as the more representative lower house changes its political complexion, though perhaps more slowly. For this reason, we believe that the proposals of Lord Rosebery tend more nearly in the right direction than do those of Mr. Asquith. The elimination, at least in large measure, of the hereditary principle would be a first step toward a second chamber more representative in character and also more responsive to the popular will.

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THE GREAT ADVENTURE

The first step outside the rude hut in which the consciousness of the earliest man was housed involved the great adventure of life in its entirety; it liberated the force that was to lift him step by step up the "world's great altar stairs" to God; it was the beginning of the journey through the world of matter to the world of spirit. No dream of the imagination has ever touched the hem of the garment of that wonderful story. It contradicts all experience, and is incredible from the standpoint of any reasoning before the fact. It is at once the glory and the weakness of the human intelligence that it is always demanding a perfect universe; its glory because only the children of the Infinite could have conceived such a demand; its weakness because it insists on its own idea of perfection—a universe so small that a man's mind could traverse it, so poor in resource that a man's mind could measure its utmost development, so orderly that, like a machine, the working of its minute parts could be clearly seen at any moment.

There would have been no earthquakes and tornadoes in a world of man's making, because it would have been a piece of finished machinery, not a seed sown in space and unfolding into a vast living organism so flooded with life that the beauty and mystery and terror of it make it a parable of man's career. There would have been no evil, for there could have been no freedom; no disease, for there could have been no moral order rooted in the very nature of a world of law; no sorrow or suffering, for there could have been no agonizing process of growth. A world of man's making would have been a pleasant park in which innocent creatures would have lived and died in the comfort and ignorance of those to whom life is easy because it is shorn of all its great possibilities. If it had had the genius, the human mind would not have dared to dream of a way for man which should climb a Calvary of suffering and loneliness to the heights whence the vision of God broke on him as the dawn breaks out of the black mists of night and changes them into a luminous mystery of light. Only the mind of God could have dreamed of a way so terrible because it was so great, of an education so searching because the end of it was companionship with himself, of a life for man so fashioned that out of the image made of earth the image of God should slowly appear.

If life had been a holiday journey through a beautifully appointed park, man would have come comfortably to the end of his little day with no increased growth, no widening thought, no clearer vision, no birth of the immortal passion for purity within, no deepening sense of the presence of the Infinite; it was when he was driven out of the garden by the knowledge which his earliest experiences forced upon him that he ceased to be at ease, and began, in sorrow and loneliness, his immortal quest for truth and love and righteousness.

A ramble across country on a summer day involves nothing more serious than a pleasant fatigue, and gains nothing more important than wholesome pleasure; a voyage of discovery, an exploration across an untraveled continent, inevitably bring with them hardship, heartbreaking weariness, hunger, thirst, and peril; the greatness of the achievement is, in a sense, measured by the privation and danger which it involves. A sluggish man, content with mere comfort, may shield himself almost completely from the sorrows of life; but he who aspires to live in every part of his nature and to give his spirit the finest temper must bare his head to the four winds of heaven and brave all storms that sweep the earth. It is the vastness of the universe that makes it so terrible; it is the unfolding life in the earth, the unsleeping forces at work, that make it dangerous as well as beautiful and endlessly marvelous. It is the greatness of man's destiny that exposes him to such perils, the severity of his education through sorrow and sacrifice that slowly shapes him to the highest uses of his spirit; it is the reach of the road and the glory of its ending that make the journey so long, so hard, so mysterious.

A world that one could comprehend and direct would be our slave instead of our teacher; and a God whom we could understand would be a being like ourselves. The clouds and darkness that

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hide him from us are not impenetrable mists that float between him and us; they are the emanations of our own ignorance and weakness. We have the capacity to understand, but not yet the power. To give us that full and ripe development the whole order of life is directed. We are often weary in the greatness of our way, to paraphrase one of the sublimest passages in the Old Testament. The truth which experience brings us is not that life is trivial and futile, as the cynics tell us, but that it is so great that the spirit bends under the weight of it. In the great adventure there are hours of fatigue so heartbreaking that we sink under the burden of trial and privation and are ready to cry out for a lower destiny and an easier way. But God, who has made us to be his companions, loves us too divinely to suffer us to lose any part of our heritage through a passing cowardice.

THE LIBERATION OF THE HOUSE

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

WHEN I arrived at the theater, the curtain had fallen and the players had dispersed. The uniformed official at the door of the House of Representatives informed me that the House had adjourned and would not meet again till Monday. It was then Saturday evening. I had not yet learned what had taken place that afternoon. As I walked, first over to the House Office Building and then back to the Union Station, while dusk was turning to night, the budding twigs of the trees on the Capitol grounds, the last chirping of the birds, the warm, soft, scented air of a spring evening, seemed in strange contrast to the tumultuous drama that I had hoped to have a glimpse of. Perhaps it was just as well I had failed to see the play. This epilogue delivered by the voices of Nature, of which I was the sole auditor, was in a way as dramatic and significant as anything that had happened. It announced the principle on which our Government rests, and without which no really democratic government can endure—the peaceful acquiescence of the minority.

What did the performance signify? Who were the chief characters? What force in the conflict of the drama triumphed? In what did the triumph consist? Was this drama to have a sequel? These were the questions for which I sought answers from some of the principal performers.

The play might be called The Liberation of the House. In order to understand it one must hear the prologue.

When scores of men of varying political beliefs and of conflicting interests assemble to enact laws, they at once face the necessity of adopting some methods for doing business and compromising minor differences. If only a few members of the assemblage propose legislation, and the bills they introduce are not numerous or complicated, the problem is comparatively simple. All that they need to do is to select some one to preside and see that business is taken up in some kind of orderly fashion. When, however, the members propose a multitude of measures, many of them involving matters of little moment, and others great policies of government, and some of them intricate and technical, the problem becomes serious.

In the first Congress there were less than two hundred bills introduced; in the last Congress there were nearly forty thousand. In the first Congress the legislation concerned a people whose problems were comparatively simple; in the last Congress it concerned ninety millions of heterogeneous people living under a most complicated industrial and social system.

In any circumstances, even with only two hundred bills to consider, there must be some way by which the assemblage may decide what measures are most important. In England the Cabinet, the responsible Ministry, virtually decides. In this country the Cabinet is purely executive; there is no Ministry responsible for legislation. So the work of deciding what measures are of most importance is apportioned among all the members of the

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House. The House is divided up into committees, each charged with the care of one class of legislation. These committees take the bills that are introduced and sort them, throwing some aside and reporting others to the whole House, with their recommendations. Even after this sorting the mass of legislation is large. A small group of men opposed to a particular measure could, by taking up the time of the House and by maneuvers of various kinds, frustrate the will of the majority. Various plans have been adopted to prevent this. Among them is the creation of a Committee on Rules, which can select measures to receive attention.

These committees, including the Committee on Rules, are supposed to be selected by the majority of the members of the House. Now, since the majority chooses the Speaker, it was decided (in 1790) that the Speaker, representing the majority, should choose the committees. Among other committees, he has heretofore chosen the Committee on Rules, and has been a member and Chairman of it. A child can see that a Speaker can very largely determine what bills shall or shall not be passed, not only by designating members to committees, but especially by his appointments to the Committee on Rules and his own membership in that Committee. Again and again, from 1804 on, the attempt has been made to take from the Speaker the power to appoint committees. Each time it has failed.

Against other powers assumed by the Speaker there has been on various occasions vigorous, sometimes violent, protest; but still, because of the need for guarding against obstruction, these powers have been allowed to accumulate.

At last Joseph G. Cannon was elected Speaker. Skilled in parliamentary law, astute in making adjustments between conflicting interests, inexorable in punishing recalcitrant members, he used these powers to mold legislation not merely to promote his party's policies, but to promote his own views of those policies. Then the protest became a movement. Republicans who felt that their own Speaker was using the powers of his office unfairly came out into the open as insurgents against Mr. Cannon and his lieutenants. With the aid of Democratic votes, however, the majority of the Republicans last year re-elected Mr. Cannon Speaker. "Cannonism" became an issue. It was thus partly a personal issue and partly an issue of principle. Some of the Insurgents were offended because of Mr. Cannon's treatment of them; some desired legislation which they believed Mr. Cannon was blocking, or opposed legislation which they thought he was promoting; some were fighting against the practice of trading and bargaining between private interests, which Mr. Cannon avowedly followed, and wished to have the right to legislate for the public interest; but all agreed that no one man should have the power exercised by Mr. Cannon, and that the House should be liberated. On the other hand, Mr. Cannon repeatedly said that the majority could depose the Speaker and change the rules; and that his remaining in power showed that the majority approved of his conduct.

Now came the play.

Some time ago, Mr. Norris, an Insurgent from Nebraska, had prepared a resolution taking from the Speaker not only the chairmanship and even membership on the Committee on Rules, but also his power to appoint the Committee, giving that power to the House instead. He had been waiting for a chance to present his resolution; but he did not find it. The Speaker's power to recognize or not recognize members on the floor, the prearrangement of business, the whole system of the House, stood in the way.

Finally, one day, a fellow-member, Mr. Crumpacker, rose and presented a resolution regarding census legislation. After a disagreement between the Speaker and the House, in which the Speaker was on two successive days defeated, Mr. Crumpacker's resolution was declared in order because the Constitution said that the House should take a census.

Thereupon Mr. Norris proposed his resolution, and declared it to be in order because the Constitution authorized the House to make its own rules. Immediately there was great excitement. The Speaker's power was threatened.

Since the regular Republicans had been defeated by the combined votes of the Democrats and Insurgents on the Crumpacker resolution, they foresaw defeat

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again. Resorting to dilatory tactics, which are the usual resource of a minority, these regular Republicans, the majority of the majority, used the passing time to get voters to sustain the Speaker. All night the advocates and opponents of the resolution debated. And the Speaker, awaiting reinforcements, refused to rule whether it was in order or not. When Friday, the 18th of March, dawned, the House was still in session.

Meantime a committee of the Insurgents met with a committee of the Regulars and offered a compromise, but all to no purpose. Neither explicitly nor by informal but binding agreement would the Regulars consent to any plan which would take the Speaker off the Committee on Rules.

So Friday passed, and the House took a recess. Reconvening on Saturday, the House heard for the first time the ruling of the Speaker that the Norris resolution was not in order. He cited a precedent to show that the right of the House to make its own rules was not equivalent to a Constitutional right to amend the rules at any time.

Mr. Norris appealed to the judgment of the House. Mr. Dalzell then moved to lay Mr. Norris's appeal on the table. If Mr. Dalzell's motion had prevailed, it would have meant the retention of the Speaker's power. The roll was called and the motion was lost. The Democrats, in an unbroken body, and the compact group of Insurgents showed that they could outvote the forces of Speaker Cannon.

Then, after a vote ordering the previous question, Mr. Norris's appeal was sustained. That established as a precedent the principle that the House may at any time amend its rules. Next, in a form changed as to details, the new rule was adopted. This eliminated the Speaker from the Rules Committee, which was enlarged from five to ten members, and transferred from the Speaker to the House the power of appointing the Committee itself. Immediately Mr. Norris moved to adjourn. As a favor, the Speaker asked Mr. Norris to withhold the motion till he himself could make a statement. Out of consideration for the Speaker, who was now defeated, Mr. Norris granted the request.

The Speaker then announced that two courses were open to him—to resign, or to entertain a motion to dismiss him from the Speakership. He declined to resign, on account of the confusion that would follow; and declared that then, and indeed at any time, he would consider as of the highest privilege a motion to vacate the Chair.

It was a tense moment. The principle had been established, and now the personal fortunes of Mr. Cannon were at stake.

A Democrat, Mr. Burleson, of Texas, thereupon moved to vacate the Chair. Mr. Norris insisted on his motion to adjourn, and was defeated. Then, in the midst of suspense, the roll was called on Mr. Burleson's motion. Would the Insurgents follow up their victory for principle by a victory over Mr. Cannon personally? The Democrats voted solidly against Mr. Cannon; but a large majority of the Insurgents voted to retain Mr. Cannon as Speaker. They accepted in good faith Mr. Cannon's statement that his resignation would create confusion and impede legislation; and they saw that if his resignation would do this, so would his dismissal. Moreover, they wished to make it plain that their fight was not in retaliation against Cannon the man, but in maintenance of the liberation of the House from the irresponsible dominance of the Speaker, whoever he might be. With this final vote in his favor, the Speaker, shorn of a great deal of his power, declared the House adjourned.

That very evening, in a speech at the dinner of the Illinois Republican Association, Mr. Cannon bitterly attacked those Insurgents who, after voting to eliminate the Speaker from the Committee on Rules, had voted that he remain Speaker. He declared that those who had voted against him had the courage of their convictions, but as for the rest, he called them "cowardly members of Congress."

It is apparently impossible for Mr. Cannon, it will probably be impossible for many people, to understand that the majority of the Insurgents were engaged in a warfare, not against a man, but against a system. The Insurgents are aware that the evils of the system have been accentuated by the arbitrary acts of the man; they acknowledge that if Mr. Cannon had

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always acted with the fairness he has lately shown, this fight might not have arisen. At the same time they were sure that the struggle against the man should not be confused with the struggle against the system. If Speaker Cannon was right in not resigning because the resulting contest for the Speakership would throw the House into confusion and impede legislation, the Insurgents were right to vote against vacating the Chair for the same reason. The Speaker had dared them to make the contest personal, and, like brave men, they refused to take the dare.

Since, then, the Insurgents declined to rid the House of Mr. Cannon, what did they accomplish in relieving the House of Cannonism? They accomplished three things:

First, and most obvious, they abolished an arbitrary Rules Committee and substituted for it a Rules Committee selected directly by the parties in the House. The majority party will hereafter choose the majority of the Committee, and the minority party the minority of the Committee. The sincerity of the Insurgents was tested by their action in entering the Republican caucus without any design to secure place on that Committee. Hereafter the group of men who will guide the process of legislation in the House will no longer be dependents of the Speaker, but servants of the House.

Second, and more important, they secured from the Speaker an official ruling, recorded now as a parliamentary precedent, that hereafter among motions of the highest privilege, always in order, will be the motion to vacate the Chair. For the first time in the history of Congress the Speaker is made amenable, not merely to a majority of the majority, which may be in fact (as it has recently been shown to be) a minority, but to the majority of the House.

Third, and most important of all, they secured from the House, against the will of the Speaker, a ruling that a motion to change the rules of the House is in order at any time. This enables the House to resolve itself at any time into what is virtually a Supreme Committee on Rules. It saves the House from its former helplessness in the hands of the Speaker and his lieutenants. It provides for a fundamental liberation of the House. To this ruling objection is made that it opens the way to endless filibustering; that under it any member may delay important action by continually offering to make changes in the rules, and that he cannot be made to subside, because his motions are privileged. One Representative described this rule as an invitation to anarchy. The fact is, no rules can be framed which will enable donkeys to become intelligent legislators. No rule is practical that is not based on the assumption that legislators have a modicum of common sense. The question is whether, for fear of such anarchy, the House of Representatives should continue to be at the mercy, even the intelligent mercy, of a small group. This question the House, by vote of the Democrats and Insurgents, has answered with an emphatic No.

It has been said that all this turmoil has been a waste of time; that a great pother has been made over showing that the House should have the freedom to take matters into its own hands; that it had this freedom all along, as the Speaker had repeatedly said; and that it is proved that the House had this freedom because when the House wanted to take matters into its own hands it did so. One might likewise argue that the American War for Independence was unnecessary because the Colonies could have had their independence at any time, and the outcome of the war proved it so. The fact is that, in the one case as in the other, liberation came in spite of the efforts of those in power. In one case as in the other, the outcome is newly established freedom.

What is to be the effect?

Politically it means that the regular Republican organization has deliberately accepted the onus of defending Cannonism; that the Democrats, not long ago divided on this subject, can now go into every district at present represented by a regular Republican and point to their record as proof of their united opposition to Cannonism; and that every Insurgent Representative and every Insurgent candidate can cite facts to show that loyalty to Republican policies does not impose obedience to the so-called House oligarchy.

In the House the effect will not be to

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transfer the leadership of party matters to the Insurgents. The Republican members of the new Rules Committee are all Regulars. It will be, however, to place upon the majority more direct responsibility for what is and what is not done this session. Strangely, the most noticeable effect was first seen in the Senate. There, also, for the past year there has been an insurgent movement, not only against autocratic methods, but also against reactionary measures. The moral effect of the success of the House Insurgents on Saturday was visible in the Senate on Monday.

Mr. Elkins, a Regular, made a set speech on the Inter-State Commerce Bill. Standing at a desk on the Vice-President's left, he was flanked on one side by an Insurgent, and on the other by a group of Insurgents and Democrats. The animation with which the Insurgents interrupted with questions was in contrast to the quiet, chastened demeanor of Mr. Elkins's associates who are stamped with regularity. Mr. Elkins stood there—a cheerful man at bay.

On the Administration the effect can be only indirect. If the people are convinced that the Administration has cast its lot with the Regulars, their defeat at this time will not add to the Administration's prestige. On the other hand, Mr. Taft's scrupulous refusal to lend any hand in this particular controversy, with which the Executive is not involved, ought to have much to do in persuading the people of the country not to attribute to the Administration the faults and the failures of Cannonism.

On legislation the victory of the Insurgents may have important effects. It cannot retard the Administration measures, unless the regular Republican organization is willing openly to take the responsibility of retarding them. It may greatly expedite them.

Most important of all, the liberation of the House will emphasize the principle that legislation is not a mere adjustment of conflicting private interests, but is primarily an embodiment of the public will regarding the public interest.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

DEATH

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE

We are too stupid about death. We will not learn
How it is wages paid to those who earn,
How it is the gift for which on earth we yearn,
To be set free from bondage to the flesh;
How it is turning seed-corn into grain,
How it is winning Heaven's eternal gain,
How it means freedom evermore from pain,
How it untangles every mortal mesh.

We are so selfish about death. We count our grief
Far more than we consider their relief
Whom the great Reaper gathers in the sheaf,
No more to know the seasons' constant change;
And we forget that it means only life,
Life with all joy, peace, rest, and glory rife,
The victory won, and ended all the strife,
And Heaven no longer far away or strange.

Their Lent is over, and their Easter won,
Waiting till over paradise the sun
Shall rise in majesty, and life begun
Shall grow in glory, as the perfect day
Moves on, to hold its endless, deathless sway.

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WILD LIFE IN NEW YORK

BY WALTER PRICHARD EATON

I AM not a naturalist. I tell myself I have never had time to become a naturalist, though perhaps the truth is I have never had the patience. I do not consider a man or woman a naturalist who goes hopping about the woods and fields round a summer resort, armed with a "Baby Pathfinder to the Birds," and on sighting a feathered songster on a bough consults the book and exclaims, "Oh, see the Wilson—or is it a hermit?" Personally, I should prefer not to know the birds at all rather than to know them through a Baedeker. What little I do know of birds and wild things I learned as a country boy, as I learned to whittle a stick, to skate, to set traps, to find my way home through the woods at night. I like to fancy that I love them thus, not as the pseudo-naturalist, but as one who hears in their call the call of an earlier, untroubled morning, the whisper of half-forgotten things. In this great, crowded, treeless city of New York, swarming with its four millions of human prisoners, the hints of the wilderness which I seek or stumble upon are at once a pleasure and a pain; they speak to me of a life far different from this we live on Manhattan Island and call "civilization;" and to be reminded of that other life is both to dream happy dreams and to feel the pangs of restlessness and discontent. I do not need to wait for the smell of April grass in Central Park to give me woodland fever. Did not a hermit thrush spend yesterday in the ailantus tree in my back yard?

He was, I suppose, on his way south, possibly from Franconia, where he had filled the early twilights with melody, as the dark shadow of Cannon crept up the slopes of Lafayette. I wonder that he did not strike across the Hudson farther north, and go southward through the north Jersey hills and down the valley of the Delaware. Perhaps he pined, as some hermits have done before him, for just one fling at the gay metropolis! At any rate, there he was, in his plain country suit, sitting very quiet all day. He did not sing. I prayed at twilight that he would, but his voice was silent. He was still sitting there when night came on, but with morning he had gone.

My back yard, which is in an old residence section of town near Washington Square, now rapidly giving way to sweatshops and commerce, is no larger than a pocket-handkerchief. The ailantus tree is half—or two-thirds—dead. So are the spindly trees in the other back yards up and down the block. Two or three doors away an Italian *table d'hôte* restaurant, where they serve spaghetti and red ink for forty-five cents, sets out tables in summer beneath the stars, and I can hear the chatter of voices at night and see the lamps. Yet in all the poor spindly trees along the block during the migration seasons there are visitors from the greener world, even from the wild woods—friendly chickadees, robins, and myrtle warblers being, perhaps, the most common. I have seen chewinks, too; but more often they are in the open spaces of the parks and squares. Sometimes there is a junco. The other day one rode to Staten Island on a ferry-boat. He was on his way South, had stopped off for a bit of sightseeing, and was getting a free ride out of town. And of course I am always looking again for my hermit thrush.

When I was a boy, I had to go out in the yard after my shoes every summer morning, because at exactly five minutes past three a whippoorwill used to perch on the oak close to my window and call insistently—so insistently that he woke me up, which in those days was something of a feat. He was so close that I could hear the throaty gurgle in his call. Every night I threw my shoes at him. But I never hit him. I am glad now, for I long ago forgave him, and the call of a whippoorwill to me to-day is irresistibly appealing, fraught with the sweet sad memories of youth. This call I cannot hear on Broadway, but I have once or twice on a June night, in a rare moment of comparative stillness, heard the querulous note of the night-hawk, first cousin

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to the whippoorwill. The naturalists tell us that the night-hawks nest on top of the Manhattan sky-scrapers. Be that as it may, their call sometimes drifts down past Trinity spire, to some ears a sweeter chime.

You have only to cross the rivers on any ferry-boat to see the gulls swooping and sailing, beautiful miniature monoplanes. But did you ever see an eagle in New York, except in a cage or on a gold piece? Or did you ever see a heron, or a screech-owl, or a turkey-buzzard? Did you ever meet a fox, except on business, or a white-tailed deer? Or, at twilight, when his brown fur looks black and the white streak from his chin down between his forelegs tells prominently, did you ever see the sharp muzzle of a mink, wet and shiny, thrust cautiously up over the bank of a stream, and the sharp eyes dart about seeking food—or danger? Probably you have not. Yet all these things have been seen within the boundaries of the largest and most densely populated city on the Western Hemisphere—not in the remote past, but in the crowded present.

The mink, indeed, are the greatest menace to the wild fowl kept in the Bronx Park. The little Bronx River comes down from historic White Plains, enters Bronx Park at the northern end, near the Botanical Gardens, where it winds along in the swampy leaf-mold at the base of the hemlock grove, for all the world as if it were in the wilderness (save for the paths cut here and there on the bank), goes out of the Park at the southern end, over a dam, meets the tide in the village of West Farms, and finally finds its way into Long Island Sound through the great salt marshes that sweep up to the green pasture that was once the Westchester Golf Club course, close to Westchester Avenue and the railway. Those salt marshes, by the way, are dotted with tiny rock islands, plumed with scrub-oak, safe nesting-places for the birds; and in the old days of the golf club a brassey shot in spring ten feet off the fairway took you into veritable beds of violets and anemones. The violets are still there, but there is no more golf.

Both up and down the Bronx River, which is not the cleanest stream in the world, swim the mink. Probably the fishing isn't good; certainly their favorite trout are not plentiful! But the mink will eat anything, and nice, tender wild fowl, fattened by feeding in the Zoo, are not to be scorned by mink or man. So the mink center in upon the swampy stretches of the stream bordering the Zoo and the hemlock forest. I dare say a careful investigation of the banks, especially northward into Westchester County, would disclose their abiding-places. But the task is not a fragrant one. At any rate, they come to the Bronx Park by night, and sometimes wipe out whole families of wild fowl before morning. Once one of them killed an entire flock of gulls, six or seven in number, which were sleeping carelessly on a miniature sand-bar jutting into the Park lake, after their fashion, heedful only of hunters. But, possibly, to make a meal for a mink is no less ignominious an end than to make a wing for a milliner. The mink's track in the snow is unmistakable, because he digs in his claws so decisively. After a light fall, sifted down through the Bronx hemlocks upon the frozen leaf-mold, you may track him to the stream's edge, and find, perhaps, tell-tale feathers by the way. But it is doubtful if you will ever see his sleek, cautious muzzle nose up over the bank. He is a fox of the water. He plays the craft of the wilderness in the heart of town. He dares danger because he has such an uncannily clever faculty of dodging it.

Only a year or two ago a red fox was seen in New York City, not once but several times. He was seen by an artist who has a little studio shack on the wooded hillside sloping toward the Harlem River at University Heights near the Hall of Fame. Perhaps the fox wished to ascertain if Poe's name had yet been placed in that gallery! He evidently came down from Van Cortlandt Park, and was observed several times at daybreak loping along toward the river. Possibly he was quite safe, for New Yorkers, even when they are out of bed at five in the morning, are not, as a rule, armed for fox-hunting. But why he had wandered thus far into civilization is a mystery.

If you will go up to the Bronx Park Zoo early in the morning, before the sun is up (which you probably won't!), you

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may see herons walking over the top of the great flying-cage, with something comically akin to envy in their rustic strut. It is exactly as if the poor wild things envied their cousins in captivity, just as the countryman, in the freedom of his fields, envies his city fellow, cooped up in a flat with a big salary to keep him superficially contented. And once in a while an early riser in the Bronx may see a black speck circling overhead and winding down the aerial spiral till it discloses the wing-spread of an eagle. A white-headed eagle actually spent some time, two seasons ago, in a tree close to the cage of his captive brothers in the Zoo. By what instinct he detected their presence from on high, or from what impulse he descended to their side, I am not naturalist enough to say. Presently he soared away again into the wilderness.

In that beautiful forest of hemlocks (there used to be chestnuts, too, but they have died) which stretches through the Bronx Park, doubly beautiful in winter when the paths are obliterated and the trail of man can be forgotten by a few strides from the roadway, a European fallow deer lived in a wild state for two winters. Originally seventeen escaped from the Zoo. All but two were caught. But these two were clever, and eluded capture until nature had taken its course. The buck and the fawn were ultimately killed, but the doe continued to live at liberty for at least two winters. A friend of mine once met her almost face to face. To come upon a wild deer in the woods not ten minutes' walk from the Subway is something of an adventure!

But other deer have been met in New York which had not escaped from the Zoo. One of them, indeed, a whitetail or Virginia deer, escaped into it. He was caught swimming the Hudson River, and if a tug had not fished him out of midstream he would have landed, undoubtedly, on Manhattan Island. He must have wandered, it is supposed, from the north Jersey mountains to the edge of the Palisades. There he looked across at that strange spectacle of piled-up buildings, railways on stilts, jeweled lights, and plumes of smoke—and started over to investigate! Another whitetail deer was captured in Yonkers, close to the New York line, as he was heading for Van Cortlandt Park. Once in the Park, he might well have startled some golfer, going down to the spring for a drink, by crashing away through the swamp.

To me there has always been something quaint and touching about the fishermen of New York—I do not mean the professional fishermen, nor those who go down the Bay of a Sunday with more bottles than bait, but the old fellows who sit on the rocks in Washington Park and play, perhaps, that they are boys again, while they pull an occasional catfish out of the Hudson. These catfish used to be delicious, but I am told they now taste of oil, whether from the motor boats or the refineries down at Bayonne I cannot say. When you get off the Subway and clamber up the hill and down again to the old fort at Washington Park, you put a high bank between you and the town. As you climb still farther down, you put piles of granite boulders and trees between you and every trace of road or path. You may sit behind one of those boulders at the water's edge and look across the great river to the solemn, wooded Palisades while the gulls swoop overhead, and fancy Manhattan Island is as it was when Henry Hudson nosed the Half-Moon up the stream. And across on those Palisades, within sight of New York, I saw a rattlesnake only a year ago!

And presently one of the old fishermen will come to the next rock, unpack his tackle and perhaps a camp-stool, fill a pipe, and go soberly, patiently, to work. I don't object to these fishermen in my solitude. Sometimes I rather long for a line myself. The occasional lovers are much more objectionable.

You can get the fishermen without the lovers by going farther from City Hall and the Subway, down on the sand-dunes and marshes round Jamaica Bay. Here, between Brooklyn on the one hand and the summer city of Rockaway along the ocean front on the other, are miles of winding tide creeks, shallow bays, brown marsh grasses, drifts of white sand. The wild ducks still are found here, though naturally in lesser numbers than farther east on the Long Island coast, and from the tumble-down shanties built on piles at the head of the hundreds of salt-water

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creeks boats put out on Saturdays and Sundays the year through, loaded with fishermen. It is a desolate area, lying flat under the dome of heaven, but lovely with green in summer, with brown and gold in autumn, and always with the blue of the sea water and the procession of the clouds. And though across it crawl black trains in the distance, trailing rosy smoke at sunset, it is spacious, untamed, still given over to the sports of the chase. Yet it lies within the boundaries of New York City.

An old gentleman who died only last winter used to describe to me with great gusto his first hunting expedition in New York. His father gave him a gun, and he went from his home in Greenwich Village, near the present Cunard Docks, over to the woods at the head of the Bowery, and shot a quail! The head of the Bowery is now far "down town," miles south of the center of population. But in those days Greenwich Village was connected with New York proper by stage-coach, and between were country estates. It seems quite inconceivable. Yet I to-day can leave my house near Washington Square after lunch, take a ferry-boat to Staten Island and a Richmond trolley there, walk a mile at the end of the line, stand in the woods out of sight of houses, and hear the guns crack out on the Fresh Kill marshes. Then I can come leisurely home and have plenty of time to dress for dinner. And I shall not have been outside the boundaries of New York City.

The village of Richmond, Staten Island, still retains something of its old village charm, especially when you look back upon it from the lane leading southwest along Richmond Creek. The old church-spire rises up amid the trees, out of its congregation of white tombstones, and about it cluster the houses. The lane runs along the southern slope of that great glacial moraine which divides the Island like a spine. Corn-fields border it, and in the fall apples grow temptingly to hand. Presently the moraine to the right comes to an end. So does the lane. The end of the mound is crested with chestnuts, and if you scramble up to them through a tangle of goldenrod and briers, you will find unexpectedly half a dozen neglected gravestones, a century old, clustered there. The red squirrels scamper among them. The salt wind comes in from the sea and drives the fog overhead. Last year a woodchuck burrowed just down the slope toward the woods. Once, as I climbed up, I saw the brown streak of a rabbit making off on the other side. It seems almost as if this tiny burial-plot were the last relic of settlers passed a hundred years ago, as if the wilderness were wiping out what they had accomplished.

Just below this point, beyond a wall and a hedge of trees, is a corn-field. Last autumn, when I was there, one misty Sunday afternoon, it was lovely with golden pumpkins between the shocks, and here and there a pile of purple cabbage-heads. A shed was dimly visible off to the right, through the woods. No house was to be seen. To the left were the marshes, and beyond them more woods. It might have been the clearing of some pioneer. Not a human was in sight, but out on the marshes somewhere a gun was cracking. Once or twice both barrels spoke, which may have meant good hunting or poor shooting. You could almost fancy the settler, at any rate, coming home with his bag of game for supper. And this was New York City!

There are many spots on Staten Island, indeed, which have so far escaped the suburbanization process as to retain something of their country charm, close as they are to City Hall. Near Silver Lake are groves of chestnuts and beeches, with wonderful glades of goldenrod and wild flowers in the season. The birds are plentiful, and here the chickadee lives the year through. It must be confessed that in many of these places you are obliged to overlook (it cannot be forgiven) a litter of lunch-boxes or bottles or papers before you can reach the exact spot where nothing objectionable obtrudes. It must be confessed, also, that, if you face a woodland vista southward, northward, should you turn, would be visible some suburban "villa," or squatter's shanty, or factory chimney. But imagination may be as truly employed in not seeing things which exist as in inventing things out of the void. Face right, and forget the rest! That is my motto when I hunt the wilder-

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ness in New York. The practice brings me much comfort.

Nor is the obtruding sign of civilization always unpleasant. I have spoken of the Bronx Creek marshes where they creep up to the old Westchester Golf Club, and of the little rock islands which dot them. Before that golf club was abandoned to make way for tenements which have not yet materialized, I used to pick my way out to one of these islands, from grass hassock to grass hassock, and, if it was in autumn, build a fire against the rocks. Sometimes I would spend hours there, absolutely unmolested. It was a grand place to work. But I fear I seldom worked. There was too much to see and enjoy. To the right, a half-mile away, across the river and the railway, the land rises up and is crested with tenement-houses, like a long wave, as far as you can see. That is the vanguard of town. The marshes stop it abruptly. It hangs there perpetually suspended. In front the marshes, alive with waving, rustling grass and quicksilver pools, stretch level to the blue waters of the Sound. And to the left is more marsh, and then a long green arm of land like a finger pushing out to the Sound. The prevalent wind, passing over the dry grass in autumn, gives the marshes the effect of hastening away from the oncoming town, fleeing before the invader. As my fire used to burn brightly against the rocks and I sat by it watching the marshes flee before the advance of civilization, I think I was closer to a sympathy and kinship with wild things and wild places than at almost any other time. And I was undoubtedly closer to the Subway!

The day is soon coming, however, when that wave-crest of tenements will break, flow over the Bronx River and the reclaimed marshes, and on to the very shore of the Sound. The day is soon coming, no doubt, when there will be apartment-houses in the sleepy old village of Richmond, and those forgotten graves on the end of the moraine will be violated to make a cellar hole. The day is certainly coming soon when the grove on the northern nose of Manhattan Island, with its ancient tulip trees, will be cut down, and the last hint of how the Island looked to Henry Hudson will have vanished. Fortunately, across the river the Palisades are going to be preserved in their solemn wooded dignity, and the hemlock forest in Bronx Park will long remain to remind us poor city dwellers of the cool green woods.

But from year to year, almost from month to month now, the spots in New York City grow fewer where I can seek out a glimpse to remind me of the wilderness or meet a winged or four-footed wild fellow to speak me the news. When I am entirely reduced to the captive creatures in the Zoo and to the Park reserves, I fear I shall have to desert New York forever. The wilderness in captivity is but a sorry substitute for the real thing, even for my strayed hermit thrush, in the dusty, half-dead ailantus tree down in the back yard.

THE WOOD

BY MARY BALDWIN

Alone amongst the silent trees
All hushed in snowy peace,
The Twilight took me by the hand
And bade my struggle cease.

So soft beneath the deepening sky
Within that snowy lane
The kindly, healing Night came by
To leave me whole again.

For, far away, oh, far away,
I saw a white star shine;
And when I left that friendly wood,
Serenity was mine.

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CAN LABOR BE CAPITALIZED?

BY WILLIAM SHAW

THERE are two great questions before the industrial world to-day: One, the protection of the life of the employee by fixing the responsibility for injury or death more definitely upon the employer.

The other deals with the preservation of life under more humane and helpful conditions than now exist, by giving to labor not only a living wage, but also a share in the surplus profits.

The claim that property is more sacred in the eye of the law than people is borne out by the facts. The cheapest thing in the industrial world to-day is human life, as is shown by the appalling list of the army of workers killed or disabled in this country every year, and by the extremely high death rate of infants in manufacturing centers like Lowell and Fall River. In his last annual Message to Congress, pleading for an employers' liability bill, President Roosevelt said: "The number of accidents which result in the death or crippling of wage-workers in the Union at large is simply appalling; in a very few years it runs up to a total far in excess of the aggregate of the dead and wounded in any modern war. No academic theory about 'freedom of contract' or 'constitutional liberty to contract' should be permitted to interfere with this and similar movements."

Property is protected on every hand, while every effort to protect life is fought to the limit. Practically every State or National law for the protection of life in our great industrial concerns, or for reasonable compensation in case of injury or death, has been strenuously opposed by the representatives of property.

But given reasonable protection for life, and we are then face to face with the far greater problem of a living wage and a fair distribution of the profits.

The following compilation, based on the last Census, showing the average weekly wage in four leading industries, employing 1,147,930 people, is the most powerful argument that could be made for a change in our present industrial system:

"In the textile trades, with 661,451 workers, the average weekly wage of all workers is $6.07; of men over sixteen, $7.63; of women, $5.18; of children under sixteen, $2.15.

"In the iron-workers' trades, with 222,607 workers, the average weekly wage is $10.46.

"In the boot and shoe trades, with 142,922 workers, the average for all is $7.96; for men over sixteen, $9.11; for women, $6.13; for children under sixteen, $3.40.

"In the men's clothing trades, with 120,950 workers, the average for all is $7.06; for men, $10.90; for women, $4.88; for children, $2.61.

"These weekly wages are obtained by dividing the annual wage by fifty-two. Often the weekly rate is much higher, but for many weeks the workers are unemployed; the only fair estimate is that which is based upon the annual wage." [1]

Here is an average weekly wage in these four great industries of $9.77 for men, $5.39 for women, and $2.72 for children.

In the discussion of the wage problem the maximum weekly wage is often quoted, but that is manifestly unfair. Certainly the method here used, of computing the weekly wage upon the annual wages received, is the proper basis when making a comparison with the annual dividends paid.

The inequality in the distribution of the product of labor is strikingly shown by the careful study of a financial circular advertising industrial stocks issued by A. B. Turner & Co., of Boston. The statement of the returns to capital by five representative corporations located in Fall River, Massachusetts, shows average annual returns for a period of eight years of 16.35 per cent, or more than three times the average market rate for money.

In reply to a question as to the fluctuation in wages during the same eight years,

[1] Washington Gladden, "The Church and Modern Life," pp. 142, 143.

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the treasurer of one of the largest companies writes: "These have been the same with us as with all the Fall River factories, and the advances and reductions are as follows: December 11, 1899, advance 10 per cent; March 17, 1902, advance 10 per cent; November 23, 1903, reduction 10 per cent; July 25, 1904, reduction 12½ per cent; October 23, 1905, advance 4 per cent; July 2, 1906, advance 10 per cent; November 26, 1906, advance 10 per cent; May 27, 1907, advance 10 per cent; May 25, 1908, reduction 17.94 per cent.

This gives a net increase in wages for the eight-year period of 13.56 per cent to put over against the trebled average dividend rate to capital.

Here is an average of at least double the dividend return to capital usually expected, and in some cases it is more than trebled. In one case there was a stock dividend of one hundred per cent, thus adding to that corporation an additional burden of capital without additional investment by the stockholders, on which dividends must be paid for all time.

These large dividends have also had the effect to double or treble the market value of the capital invested.

Does the record indicate that the laborers who have invested their lives in these corporations have shared equally with capital in the returns from their labor?

Occasionally we hear of an increase of five or ten per cent in wages, but almost as frequently of a similar reduction when hard times come, so that the net return to labor for a period of years shows but little increase, with a few striking exceptions in well-organized trades.

Furthermore, with the passing of the years the laborer finds his capital, which is his labor, depreciating in value through decreased efficiency, and his burden of profits to be made growing heavier by every stock dividend declared and by the increase in market value of the stock caused by the large dividends paid, which must, if possible, be maintained. Here we have the surplus of capital generously rewarded and multiplied, and the wages of the laborer but slightly increased, and this increase not nearly in proportion to the average increase in the cost of living. Is it a fair division?

The usual reply to this is, "But did not the laborer receive the market price for his labor?" Yes, but, if that is to be the standard, has not the time come to limit capital to the market rate for money?

If capital is to receive a bonus of one hundred per cent, why should not labor, which produced the wealth, receive the same?

If one dollar invested is permitted to draw dividends for two, why should not one laborer draw wages for two?

Why should not labor be capitalized as well as money, and receive its share of the accumulated profits? To accomplish this, let the corporations establish a reserve fund for the maintenance of dividends at reasonable rates, even during a period of depression. Then let labor be capitalized to the amount of each worker's yearly wage, and let dividends be declared from the surplus earnings *pro rata* on the capital stock and the capitalized wage of the workers.

This would at least put man on a par with money, and would in some degree help to correct the inequality of our present system.

It would also come to the self-respecting worker as his right, and not as a charity or gift from the employer.

Some may feel that an equal division of the surplus profits between capital and labor is not a fair division, and I must confess that I share that feeling. After capital has received its market rate of dividends and labor has received its market wage, a larger share of the accumulated profits should go to the manhood invested in the enterprise than to the money invested there.

In a recent address, President Jacob Gould Schurman, of Cornell University, speaking of the policy of the United States Steel Corporation in offering special inducements to its workmen to become stockholders, said: "This is the beginning of a movement which has in it great promise and potency for the solution of the greatest industrial question of our time. It is a form of partnership between labor and capital which has in it the elements of mutual recognition, common service and devotion, and reasonable equality and brotherhood."

This action of the Steel Corporation may

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be the "beginning of a movement," but it is a long way from the end that fairness and justice demand. Here is a great corporation, monstrously overcapitalized and heavily watered, that not only requires its workmen to invest their lives in the enterprise, but, if they would share at all in its earnings above their wages, they must invest their limited capital as well.

From the standpoint of the corporation unquestionably this is a most desirable thing to have them do, and it may also be of real benefit to the workmen. But it leaves untouched the larger problem of the laborer's right to a fair share of the accumulated or surplus profits of his labor.

Surely the time has come when the claims of surplus capital should be brought down to at least a parity with those of essential manhood, when the human intelligence that lies back of the production of all wealth shall have at least an equal share with the money invested.

The right to name a legal rate of interest for money loaned is conceded to the State. Has not the State also a right to name a standard legal rate for money invested?

During the nineteenth century many individual employers and corporations, realizing the injustice and inequality of the present system of wages, tried many experiments in profit-sharing, both in this country and abroad. Many, if not most, of these have failed. Most of the attempts were fundamentally weak and foredoomed to failure, because they were organized as either an experiment or a charity, or for the purpose of still further increasing the returns to capital. In but few cases that have come to my knowledge was the *right* of labor to a share in the surplus profits recognized.

It is an old saying often quoted that "a corporation has no soul." How can it have, when it represents only money? There can be no soul without personality. Humanity must figure in the corporation's capital stock if we expect it to have a soul. Man must be placed at least upon a par with money.

The corporation plan has apparently solved the problem of small investments and equal distribution of profits to capital, but it has taken no account of the investment of life by labor.

Three reforms are now imperatively called for in order that labor may receive its just recognition and share of the profits.

First. Absolute publicity of accounts, so that the smallest stockholder shall be as well informed regarding the condition of the corporation as the president or directors.

Second. Absolute prohibition of stock or bond watering by stock dividends to capital. All stock increase to be for permanent improvements or additions to the property.

Third. The capitalization of wages so that all profits above six per cent shall, after a safe reserve fund has been established and maintained, be divided between the capital stock and the wages of the employees.

Along this pathway lies real co-operative production—fair distribution of profits and equal recognition of the rights of capital and labor.

In the old days the industrial relation was that of lord and serf, or master and slave. Now it is employer and employee on barely a living wage, and sometimes not that except by the combined earnings of wife and children. May not the next step be a living wage to labor, a fair dividend to capital, and at least an equal distribution of surplus profits to both, on the basis of their investment of capital or labor in the enterprise?

In the readjustment of relations between employer and employed it should also be distinctly recognized that there is a third party involved, the purchasing public.

It might be possible to make a satisfactory adjustment of the differences and inequalities existing between labor and capital, and at the same time place still heavier burdens upon the larger class, the consumers. This class can have a voice in the right solution of this great economic question only by expressing itself in the laws that should govern and control the corporations and trusts. And this is where the citizen consumer should make himself heard.

Fair profits can be figured only when the corporations are relieved of the "water" and the "atmosphere" that are represented by so large a percentage of the capital stock in many of them.

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The policy in the past has been to capitalize earnings. This makes the contribution of the public to the success of the enterprise the occasion for adding still heavier burdens in the way of increased capitalization, to pay dividends on which will make it necessary to charge unjust and exorbitant prices for the goods produced or service rendered.

This is largely true at the present time with reference to express companies, steam and electric transportation corporations, and the production of steel and coal.

In the past legislation has been largely in the interest and for the protection of property. It is conceivable that the mass of voters might be so influenced by the arts of the demagogue as to demand and secure legislation solely in the interest of labor. What all good citizens should strive for is a just and intelligent conception of all the issues and interests involved in the question of industrial and economic readjustment, so that the laws controlling corporation activities shall secure equal justice for capitalist, laborer, and consumer.

THE RIGHTS OF THE NON-SMOKER

BY TWYMAN O. ABBOTT

PUBLIC smoking has become so general that the mere suggestion of the "rights" of the non-smoker will doubtless cause some amusement to the smoker who has never taken the trouble to think of the matter. To those who indulge in it tobacco-smoking affords so much pleasure that it is difficult for them to understand how it is possible for their habits to be offensive or injurious to others. A large proportion of those who smoke are gentlemen in the truest sense, and would not intentionally inconvenience or annoy any person in any manner.

The writer is not a tobacco prohibitionist, nor even a tobacco restrictionist, so far as the smoker himself is concerned. In some ways tobacco is a boon to society, as the number of its devotees throughout the globe clearly demonstrates. I desire no quarrel with the smoker concerning the evil effects of tobacco, either supposed or real, to the *user*. But I do most earnestly appeal to him as a reasonable and fair-minded person concerning the evils of *public* smoking. There is a very large contingent in the community who do not use tobacco, and to whom it is not only noxious, but detrimental to health; and the question as to what may properly be done for their protection without infringing upon the rights of the smoker is a most serious one.

It cannot be gainsaid that there is a growing disregard upon the part of the smoker for the feelings (not to say rights) of those with whom he associates. Formerly, and not so very long ago, it was the custom for a gentleman who wished to light his cigar in the presence of a woman to ask her permission. Nowadays this act of courtesy is rarely extended. In hotels, restaurants, public buildings, parlor cars, sleeping-cars, street cars, steamboats, public parlors—in fact, wherever men and women gather—it is the rule, and not the exception, to see the smoker indulge in his pleasures without a thought of whether it is agreeable or comfortable to those about him. Public signs and private requests to smokers are almost universally ignored. "No smoking allowed," "Gentlemen will please not smoke in this elevator," "Smoking is strictly prohibited," "Smoking or carrying lighted cigars in this car is forbidden," "No smoking abaft this notice," are all familiar signs which are every day ignored or deliberately defied by men whose appearance indicates good breeding and intelligence. The very fact that these signs are posted should be proof to every fair-minded smoker that there is a considerable

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element in the community to whom his habits are offensive or harmful, and that some limitation upon the enjoyment of his pleasure is regarded as not only desirable but necessary.

The comparatively recent practice of smoking cigarettes during meals in public places is bringing much real discomfort to the traveling public. It is an imported vice, and one which is undoubtedly aided by what is esteemed to be a smart fashion. The writer has often been nauseated, and has often seen others so affected, by being compelled to inhale these fumes under such circumstances, and in many instances the smoker himself has apparently been similarly affected, but has been unwilling to assert his independence against the dictates of fashion.

As the situation now stands there are few, if any, places where the non-smoker can go and breathe air uncontaminated by tobacco. He may select his seat in a restaurant with the greatest care to avoid the smoker, but almost invariably one will soon be seated at an adjoining table. If he is a traveler and wishes to use the public writing-room, no sooner has he seated himself at the desk than some other traveler seats himself opposite and begins blowing clouds of foul air into his face. In elevators the situation is still worse. Elevators are for the use of all classes of persons. They are crowded together into a small space, and, if the requests to smokers are disregarded, the non-smoker is helpless to protect himself from his neighbor. One would suppose that for a few brief seconds the most inveterate smoker could easily deny himself his pleasure without serious discomfort, but I have seen great umbrage taken at the mere suggestion that he should in the slightest degree restrain himself in these places for the benefit of those who may be inconvenienced by his presence.

Again, if you wish to go out for a fresh-air ride on a street car, you will be pretty sure to find that the smoker has got there before you, and has taken possession of the front platform or of the best front seat, and that you must take your fresh air screened through a cloud of tobacco smoke. The lives of thousands of his fellow-citizens are thus pestered every day by the public smoker.

One of the most trying places to encounter the smoker is in a sleeping-car. If there is any one place where fresh, uncontaminated air is more needed than another, it is in a sleeping-car. The facilities afforded and assigned for the exclusive use of the smoker are ample for his comfort and enjoyment, but somehow there is no spot in the train that he and his smoke does not penetrate. He is everywhere—in the berths, dressing-rooms, platforms, observation ends, and is constantly passing and repassing through the aisles, carrying burning tobacco in his mouth or between his fingers, and leaving a trail of sickening, dying, or dead odors, nauseating to the "car-sick" and headache-giving to the nervous. Smokers are now even claiming the right to smoke in the dining-cars. Some railway companies already permit it, and it seems reasonably certain that this boon will be generally granted to them in the near future unless something is done on the part of the traveling public to prevent it. Nor does the public smoker confine his indifference to the rights of *persons*, for he is even more indifferent to the rights of *property*. One needs but to recall the familiar "Scratch Here" signs to understand something of the almost universal propensity of smokers to ruin walls, doors, furniture, or anything within reach. In the same indifferent manner he casts his stubs into waste-paper baskets, or a pile of shavings, or in any other place where his fancy suits, without a thought of the consequences that may result.

The average smoker, who lives in a tobacco atmosphere, does not realize and cannot comprehend the discomfort which others suffer in such an atmosphere, and he very often resents any suggestion on their part which is intended as a limitation upon his pleasures. Still there are some strange facts in connection with the smoking habit which I have never heard satisfactorily explained. One of these is that the smoker himself is very sensitive to most noxious odors, and no one will more readily declaim against them. He has keen nostrils for, and is the first to discover the presence of, an inferior grade of tobacco. If he smokes a cigar, he despises the odor of a cigarette; if he smokes a cigarette, he "hates" a pipe.

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If he smokes a pipe, he has a supreme contempt for everything and everybody else. The pipe-smoker is, perhaps, the most self-satisfied person in all the earth, and the older his pipe the more he "loves" it.

In all fairness, is it not reasonable to demand that some limitation be placed upon the indulgence of this habit? As a reasonable man, the smoker himself should not object to proper limitations, for if he persists in disregarding the rights of the rest of the community, a popular clamor will sometime arise which will result in injustice being done to him.

All reforms have had their source in an appeal to reason. This failing, the appeal is often made to passion and prejudice, and it is well for those who exceed proper limitations in the conduct of their affairs to take heed in time.

It was only a few years ago that women regarded it as an unpardonable invasion of their rights to be requested to remove their hats in theaters and other public places. Argument, persuasion, ridicule, made no impression on them. Finally the law stepped in and changed the request to a demand. There was at first an outcry, then a protest, then common sense prevailed, and now few women would willingly return to the old practice. It even seems strange that any objection should ever have been urged to such an apparent necessity. But when one remembers the imperiousness of fashion, it is easy to understand how difficult it is to bring about changes in the habits of life.

The pernicious and unhealthful habit of public spitting is being regulated more or less successfully by law. For a time there was much complaint on the part of this form of disease-spreaders against what they claimed to be an invasion of their personal liberty. But the average person is subject to argument if you can only get his attention. The fact that it is against the law to expectorate in public places has caused many a man who was formerly careless in this respect, through thoughtlessness, to consider the matter, and when he has acquired a knowledge of the reasons for the law—that is, that the habit is not only offensive but dangerous to health—he has stopped it.

Another thing that encourages me to have faith in the reformation of the public smoking habit is what has been accomplished in regard to the drinking habit. Not long ago public drunkenness was a common sight. Now it is so rare as to be shocking. There was a time when the man who could not drink his companion under the table was ashamed of himself. Now the glass is more often turned down than not. No drinking man can obtain a position, nor hold it long if he gets it. In many ways the public is much more concerned in the use of tobacco than in the use of intoxicating liquors. The actual use of intoxicating liquors—I mean the mere *act* of drinking—is not generally offensive to the health or comfort of the public, however harmful it may be to the individual or those dependent upon him and in its future effects or influence upon the good order and peace of the community. Not so with the *act* of public smoking. Tobacco fumes are intense and persistent, and permeate and penetrate far beyond the limits of the person who is responsible for them. The odor from a strong pipe or from a cigarette will maintain itself in the air under usual atmospheric conditions at about the same elevation for a considerable period. And a smoker walking along the highway will often leave a nauseating trail of nicotine behind him for several hundred feet—so far, in fact, that the smoker himself may be entirely lost to view.

Just now there is much discussion by scientific men of ways and means of lessening the frightful ravages of tuberculosis. Most consumptives are persistent smokers. Did it ever occur to those scientists what percentage of tuberculosis germs are carried in the smoke which issues from the mouths and lungs of diseased persons while walking the streets? How many times have we all had the experience of walking along a crowded thoroughfare when suddenly we have become enveloped in a stifling cloud of tobacco smoke issuing from the mouth of some person just in front—germs carried on wings, as it were, to the mouths and nostrils of unwilling persons.

That public tobacco-smoking is such a menace to the health and comfort of the community that it may be regulated by

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law there is no doubt. The general rule is well settled that the States, in the exercise of their police powers, may enforce reasonable restrictions upon the use and enjoyment of all kinds of private property by the owner, so that he shall not endanger the comfort, health, convenience, and good order of the public generally.

In many cases which have come before the courts the exercise of this power has always been upheld, where not exercised unreasonably. In a case which was decided by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts some years ago, where the opinion was written by Mr. Justice Holmes, now sitting on the Supreme Bench at Washington, the rule concerning the regulation of nuisances was perhaps stated as forcibly and accurately as it ever has been. He said: "It is settled that, within Constitutional limits, not exactly determined, the Legislature may change the common law as to nuisances, and move the line either way so as to make things nuisances which were not so, or make things lawful which were nuisances, although by so doing it affects the use or value of property."

While many analogous cases may be found in the laws—such as the regulation of the use of intoxicating liquors or of the general coal-smoke nuisance—few cases bearing directly upon the regulation of public tobacco-smoking as a legal nuisance have ever reached the higher courts. But several years ago the city of New Orleans adopted an ordinance prohibiting the practice of smoking in street cars, classing it as "a most vile and objectionable custom to a majority of our citizens." The Supreme Court of that State, in passing upon the validity of this ordinance, stated that it violated "no private right either of person or property," and declared it was the duty of the municipal authorities to require proper ventilation in "public places, theaters, halls, etc., that there may be a supply of fresh and pure air," and that, in order to accomplish this result, they could "prohibit smoking in the same." It said that smoking in street cars "had caused, to a great majority of people using them, material annoyance, inconvenience, and discomfort. This is particularly so in the winter season, when the cars are closed. There is not only discomfort, but positive danger to health from the contaminated air." The Court distinguished between the *private* right of the smoker and his *public* right, and in so doing clearly pointed out the line of demarcation in the following words:

"Smoking, in itself, is not to be condemned for any reason of public policy; it is agreeable and pleasant, almost indispensable, to those who have acquired the habit, but it is distasteful and offensive, and sometimes hurtful, to those who are compelled to breathe the atmosphere impregnated with tobacco in close and confined places.

"There are many other habits in manners and conduct which in some localities and places are not objectionable to the public, but when committed elsewhere may become offensive and the subject of penal municipal legislation. Smoking may be classed among these subjects of legislation by the municipal corporation."

Many people will agree with the Supreme Court of Tennessee when it held in a case recently before it that cigarettes "are wholly noxious and deleterious to health."

In an Alabama case a tobacco dry-house was declared a nuisance because it was detrimental to the health and comfort of the occupants of a near-by building, it being shown that the odors polluted the air and produced headache and other nervous disorders.

So indiscriminate public smoking not only ought to be but is a legal nuisance. There is no vice which is more persistently annoying to a large part of the community. That it can be regulated and its evils removed without any interference with the smoker's real rights is beyond question. Where he persists in disregarding the welfare of the community and the rights of the non-smoker he should be restrained by public sentiment backed up by proper laws. Restaurateurs and hotel managers who permit smoking in their dining-rooms should be induced or required to provide accommodations for non-smokers where they will not be subjected to the inconvenience and discomfort of inhaling tobacco. Reasonable restrictions for its use in elevators, street cars, passenger cars, sleeping-cars, public buildings, and other public

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and semi-public places should be rigidly enforced. In this manner the public smoker may be educated to a proper understanding of his relations to the rest of the community, and he will learn how to enjoy himself without involving so much suffering, inconvenience, and danger to others.

HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORK

BY GARNET ISABEL PELTON

ON entering a dispensary one sees a long, irregular line of sick poor filing slowly to the desk, and, beyond them, crowding the settees outside the clinic-room doors, a multitude such as the Gospels picture. The frightened, shrinking woman I took there one morning was ill from living in a small basement room, from bad food, and from overwork. Would the doctor find out these causes and prescribe their removal? He diagnosed the disease, not its home source; he prescribed medicine for which the patient could not pay, and which had no power to eradicate basement, poor food, or overwork. This woman's trouble was to me typical of the sicknesses among the poor I knew, which seemed so often due to wrong social conditions. Out of the throng that come daily to such a dispensary, in how many cases would not the same hold true? Yet disease cannot be cured while its causes continue. I knew what a multitude this was in comparison with the number that applied daily to certain other large charities. Surely it represented the problems of the city's poor.

A few months later, in September, 1905, I had a memorable conversation with Dr. Richard Cabot, who had kindly given his services in some difficult cases I had had the previous winter as visiting nurse at Denison House, Boston. He told me of certain patients he had had that morning at the Out-Patient Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, whom he had not been able to help as he wished.

"A woman came," he said, "with a feeble-minded child; an unmarried pregnant girl; a homeless man dying of heart disease;" and so on through a list of the handicapped for whom no medicine could avail. For years Dr. Cabot said he had felt the need of a service which should investigate and report to the doctors "domestic and social conditions bearing on the diagnosis and treatment of cases," fill the gap between his orders and their fulfillment, and form the connecting link between the hospitals and the "many societies, institutions, and persons whose aid could be enlisted." The hospital authorities were willing that he should try a social worker at the Out-Patient Department.

"Will you come to the hospital?" he said. "Let us send you such cases, and see what you can do with them." Three days later I went.

My office was at first an unused room with a small table and a few chairs, although it was soon changed to a sunny, spacious corner of one of the large main corridors, slightly shut off by soft white screens, and touched to grace by a few growing plants and bright flowers. This office, endeared to its occupants as the "White Corner," sometimes served also as a *crèche* for babies while their mothers spent weary mornings in the clinics.

Dr. Cabot began operations by asking the doctors presiding over the different clinics to send cases in which a knowledge of the home conditions would aid in carrying out the treatment and cases that needed charitable assistance. A notice was posted in each clinic under the title "Non-Medical Department," which was soon changed to "Social Service." This notice pointed out types of cases we might help.

Dr. Cabot's initial suggestions to me included "steering," which meant guiding any person sent us by a friend or charitable agency, or any timid soul I espied; piloting to any special charity patients who would never get there if simply told to go; studying what he called "Hebraic

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debility," or the neurasthenic condition found so frequently among the poorer Jews; and following up tuberculosis patients, who came at regular intervals for examination, and who were at that time given a printed leaflet directing them to give up work, live out of doors, and eat plenty of good, nourishing food. This leaflet did not direct in what way a poor man might get such conditions.

In an hour after my arrival the work began with an avalanche that has never ceased. First came a mother and a baby from the Children's Department, with a message from the doctor substantially as follows: "This baby has been in the children's ward twice, and improved rapidly both times. But when taken home it keeps falling ill again, though I have instructed the mother carefully. Can you do anything?" That afternoon I visited the home, and found it a basement. The child was in a dark, sunless room; she was fed irregularly, and no bottle of fresh milk was allowed until the old one was empty, whatever the condition of the milk. The mother spoke Yiddish, and, though she had listened respectfully, she had not understood the doctor's directions. The father, a rag-picker, had small wages, and could not afford a better home. There were several boarders. How many babies were struggling for their lives against like conditions on that street and others? Did any group of people grapple with this problem? The cost per capita at the hospital that year was over twelve dollars a week. What a waste of its funds to have a child constantly returning so unnecessarily! The price of two such cases would pay the salary of a visiting nurse, to teach the mothers the proper care of their babies, and hospital beds could be released for other patients.

My second case was a young Jewish girl who was alone in this country in domestic service. She had a disease of the fingers. They were stubby and blue and cold, of some use during warm weather, but useless, full of pain and increasing malady, during the winter. For three years Rosie had frequented the Out-Patient Department. The doctors kept her furnished with warm mittens, a muff, and other comforts, but the fingers grew steadily shorter, more painful and useless. Through our new agency one of our friends in Florida found work for her there. One of the doctors and the Hebrew Benevolent Association provided funds, and the Invalid Aid Society found a proper companion for the journey; the workers in the great cage where the out-patient records are kept collected a wardrobe; and Rosie came back the following summer, happy and better.

From the multitude of widely varying cases which came to us in the following months we tried first to eliminate such as could be turned over to other agencies already existing. The most important function of the Social Service Department proved to be, and still is, acting as middleman between the hospital and the various charitable institutions. Boston is rich in the latter, and we made a point of doing no work that they could do. To this end of avoiding duplication, and also in order to co-operate with the proper charity in any circumstances where joint action was needed, we followed the custom, prevalent among many leading philanthropic societies in Boston, of registering at the Associated Charities every case which came to us before we proceeded any further. This method also spared the patient a repeated investigation.

In our co-operative work we not only utilized the resources of our own city but we drew into service many of the suburban charities. In one emergency we succeeded in getting a district nurse detailed entirely for our use. We pressed at the door of every institution for the treatment of tuberculosis. We kept all the convalescent homes busy, and we could have used several more. Proper convalescence in the homes of the poor is almost impossible. To restore workers who are breaking down and to insure the necessary convalescence of those who are recovering from long illnesses are important preventive measures, yet institutions for this purpose are few.

There was scant time in those crowded months to study or to generalize on the records which we kept from the start, yet our chief problems began to group themselves under definite heads. There were certain important groups for whose solution no adequate agencies existed—

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groups presenting specifically medico-social problems. Of these, one of the largest was tuberculosis in the suburbs.

In those days the only chance of many consumptives who came to the Out-Patient Department from the suburbs was Rutland, the State sanatorium. If not accepted there, they went home—in most instances, sooner or later, to die. One such case precipitated our Suburban Tuberculosis Class. A young telegrapher came to me one morning suffering from this disease. He was debarred from Rutland. The Emmanuel Church Tuberculosis Class took only patients within a radius of six miles from the State House, and this young man lived a dozen miles away. At that time there were no other resources in the State for him. Though an incipient case, he had failed steadily for three months, because he did not know how to take care of himself. In the middle of winter he had bravely removed the three windows in his room; but he had not learned the necessity of rest-cure as well as air-cure, and was chopping wood. Hot, eager tears came to his eyes when I told him that we would help him to get well. I went at once to Dr. John Hawes and begged him, as the only means of helping this boy and many other persons in the same strait, to start a suburban tuberculosis class. He agreed to do so if we would supply the necessary funds and nurses. We had neither, but I promised both. The very next morning after my talk with Dr. Hawes a young woman, who has since proved one of the most valuable members of the Department, came in, asking for volunteer work. I asked her to act as visitor for the projected class; and the new enterprise began. It developed rapidly, and was the first specialized division of the work. Under its auspices opportunities for proper care and protection in the home are carefully arranged; any suspected member of a patient's family is examined in order to determine whether there is incipient disease, and pretuberculous children are given special attention. An active propaganda is carried on in the suburbs, especially among women's clubs. The class has stimulated the formation of similar classes, and it has led to a study of suburban charitable resources.

One most difficult problem concerned the unmarried pregnant girl. Patiently to gain her confidence and trust so completely that we could win her to tell her mother and not desert her innocent child, to lift up her head and live anew in the sacred duties of motherhood—this demanded long, close friendship. Not many of these unfortunate girls come to the dispensary, but their need is so crucial that now a worker especially fitted for the task gives her whole time to it.

Another of our early undertakings was a class in hygiene for debilitated and neurasthenic women, carried on twice a week by a volunteer who was also a graduate nurse. Through long, intimate talks with each patient she taught her simple, wise living and wholesome thinking. To-day the work is included in the division for nervous women under a worker especially trained and directed by the Nerve Department.

Still another class was started to teach the making of modified milk to mothers who came in from suburbs outside the limits of a city district nurse. The only utensils used were such as could be found in very poor homes. A few graduate nurses who sometimes volunteered when off duty followed the mothers to their homes to continue the lesson there until it was surely practiced.

The hospital wards usually claimed the last hour of my day. The internes and head nurses gradually became interested in our social work, which tried to supplement the efforts of the hospital and visiting ladies in this direction and let us know when chronic, homeless, or destitute cases were discharged. The hospital now provides a special nurse as social worker for the ward patients.

A number of unlooked-for problems cropped up in connection with the Out-Patient Department itself. The superintendent sometimes asked us to investigate cases of free patients whom he suspected of being frauds. Fortunately, little attention needed to go in this direction, though in England the large per cent of fraudulent cases was the starting-point of hospital social work.

One morning a woman with advanced tuberculosis came to the Out-Patient Department. She had left her home in a distant suburb at half-past six in order to get to the hospital at nine. It was almost

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two when the doctor sent her to me, and she was faint with hunger. This typical case drew our attention to others, and thereafter the hospital generously allowed us milk for such patients. The matter was brought to the notice of the visiting ladies, and not long afterwards a luncheon counter, which had been a project of the hospital for some time, was started, at which milk, crackers, and cheese were served at a nominal price.

Men and women who lived at a distance often needed the daily dressing of varicose ulcers for several consecutive weeks. Since the hospital has no provision for keeping such cases, we found boarding-places for them near by, and helped get money for their support. The Social Service has since made a special investigation of such patients.

Except in individual cases, many of these seemingly smaller problems we could not at the time attack, and they were filed away for future consideration.

Illness has separated me from this work for over three years, and I have only such data as memory furnishes. We had no precedents. We had to develop all our methods; and always with the thought that they must be adaptable to future larger work. The kind of record kept and its size, for instance, may seem of minor importance, but it was necessary to choose a size that we should not need to modify later when we had accumulated a few thousand cases. We adopted the size of record and the card index system that were in use in the Out-Patient Department in general; and they have not had to be changed. We kept on file a list of many smaller statistics, in order to get from time to time a bird's-eye view of the work, to see where we were wasting energy, and whither our course was tending. Weekly conferences with volunteer members and with invited guests from various philanthropic agencies brought out valuable criticism on our growing methods and on our case work. We encouraged the increase of routine at first, in order to develop system and to keep closely in line with the routine of the hospital. Later we were able to lessen the red tape and proceed with greater freedom.

In our early days many of the Out-Patient doctors were indifferent and the charitable societies critical. The latter questioned whether work of such promise should be undertaken with so little preparation, and whether the agency proposed would be adequate. They watched our plunge, however, and stood by us nobly.

No appeals were made at the time for support. The hospital generously allowed us office quarters and telephone service, and risked the trial of this sociological experiment. Dr. Cabot, as its originator, stood back of it financially. First one moderate salary, later two, a few office supplies, and a little money for emergency relief made up the bulk of the expenses, and a large proportion of the money for these came back before the end of the year in voluntary contributions. To-day there are eight salaried workers and many volunteers. The groups of problems which at the beginning stood out most conspicuously are now each in charge of a specially trained worker. The indifference or critical attitude of the physicians and charitable societies has changed to appreciation. The volume of work has increased rapidly.

This effort is distinctively medico-social, because the need of medical judgment and supervision in deciding the action to be taken in such cases differentiates it from general social work. Yet in many ways it is so closely allied with charity organization work that there can be no exact line of demarcation. There are border-line problems and responsibilities that the future must decide.

Hospital social work has a special educational value. It affords a field where nurses may receive training for that widening ministry to the public into which they are being called every year. It is accumulating valuable material for the study of the relations of disease to social conditions, which may some day be of great use to doctors and social workers, and result in special preventive and constructive measures for the community.

When such organized social work, now done in less than thirty hospitals, is generally accepted by the 1,649 hospitals and dispensaries of the country, who can calculate their increased potentialities for special research, or the growing light they may throw on one of the greatest problems now before the country—the problem of the public health?

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THE NEW BOOKS

"Interrupted" is a mild word to describe the poignant cruelty of the misunderstanding that arose between the two men friends in Mrs. E. L. Voynich's new novel, "The Interrupted Friendship." One of these men was the "Gadfly" who figured in the novel of that name by Mrs. Voynich which was very widely read a dozen years ago. It is the unhappy lot of this young man in both books to combine in his temperament the most eager desire for affection and capacity for friendship with a pride which makes it impossible for him to clear up the bitter misapprehensions which by some fatality arise between him and the men and women for whom he most cares. Such a man is doomed to unhappiness, and hence the main theme of the book is pitiful and almost heart-breaking. But there are other friendships in the story and characters that are sweet and lovable, together with charming glimpses of country life in France and strange narratives of the dangers and hardships in South American jungles of a scientific exploring party. Painful as the book is, it is written with exceeding vividness and searching power. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

"Kings in Exile" is the title of a new volume of animal stories by Charles G. D. Roberts. The heroes of his tales are splendid wild animals in captivity—a bison, a puma, a moose, a timber-wolf, an eagle, a seal, a grizzly bear, and, most unusual of all, an octopus. Mr. Roberts, as always, makes his animals real personalities, and if he writes of them sometimes a little too much in the terms of human experience and human intelligence, he need not be taken too literally. His heroes are interesting, his stories of their adventures vivid and picturesque. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

When one has finished Professor William Lyon Phelps's volume of "Essays on Modern Novelists," one is quite willing to understand his ability to interest students; for the papers are written in a delightfully unconventional way. Mr. Phelps discusses his novelists, not as a professional literary man who has to conform to certain established standards of judgment, but as a reader who comes fresh to his work, and who proposes in determining its value to use those mental faculties which are employed in the settlement of other affairs of life, and to study the results with entire candor and in untechnical speech. These essays are for the most part the very sublimation of common sense. It is that, perhaps, which gives them their uncommon interest. There is no attempt to placate the literary proprieties, no endeavor to use the accepted vernacular of criticism; nor, on the other hand, is there the slightest attempt to catch attention and to hold it by undignified jocularity or by brusqueness of style. Mr. Phelps appears to have a perfectly sane mind, a perfectly simple method, and a habit of perfectly honest expression. Directness, plainness of speech, and good sense characterize his work. Whether one agrees with him or not, one is likely to see that what he says has a basis in fact. He talks about Mr. De Morgan, Mr. Howells, Thomas Hardy, Alfred Ollivant, Kipling, Stevenson, Sudermann, Sienkiewicz, Björnson, Mark Twain, as easily and with as little of a professional air as he would discuss these matters for a group of students in his own lecture-room, and one gets, in consequence, a fresh view. People who imagine from the absence of any sort of pretension in these essays, and of any touch of literary self-consciousness, that they touch only the surface, are greatly mistaken. Taking them together they constitute a body of extremely sound judgment. The summing up of Mrs. Ward is accomplished in seventeen pages of moderate size and rather large type, but the work is thoroughly done, and one feels that nothing more needs to be said on the subject. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

Two years ago that veteran forester Dr. Bernhard E. Fernow, now Dean of the Faculty of Forestry in the University of Toronto, published "A Brief History of Forestry." But the book was confessedly incomplete. The desire of several forest schools to use it as a text-book necessitated its publication before the chapter on the United States had been written. The work now appears in complete form and will receive the attention it deserves—which is another way of saying that the book will doubtless find its way into the hands of practically every forester and student of forestry. After the author's illuminating preface, he considers successively the forests of the ancients, then those of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Russia, Scandinavia, the Mediterranean countries, Great Britain and her colonies, Japan, and, finally, the United States and our insular possessions. From a consideration of forest conditions in all these countries, we see that the greatest forestry development is to be found in Germany and her nearest neighbors. While any development must differ with the differing social and industrial conditions in the various countries, several general periods may be established, and this should be clearly appreciated in this time of agitation in America with regard to the conservation of our natural resources in general and those of our forests in particular. The first period is that of destruction, the settler needing open land for farming and pasture. The second period is that of protection; the settler learns the need of protecting his forest against cattle and fire and reckless lumbering. The third period is that of construction; the settler sees the value of fostering natural or artificial regeneration. The fourth period is that of

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economy; the settler, now with other settlers to be regarded as forming a full-grown nation, organizes forest areas and a sustained yield. Because of our intensive industrial development we in the United States have come to see the need of a genuinely conservative forestry policy. Yet we have come to it only lately. Strange as it may seem, the first canvass of our forest resources, so we learn from Dr. Fernow, was not made until 1870. In 1873 the American Association for the Advancement of Science presented a memorial to Congress pointing out the importance of conserving the forests. In the same year Congress passed a Timber Culture Act by which the planting of timber on forty acres of land in a treeless domain confirmed title to a hundred and sixty acres—a law repealed some years later. In 1876 Congress established an agency in the Department of Agriculture, out of which grew, ten years later, the Division of Forestry. In 1891 the President was authorized to set aside forest reservations. Between that date and 1894 Presidents Cleveland and Harrison proclaimed seventeen forest reservations, with an area of over seventeen million acres. In 1898 Dr. Fernow resigned his duties in connection with the Government, and Mr. Pinchot took charge of the Forest Service. Since that date its history is tolerably familiar. (The University Press, Toronto. $2.50.)

One of the most pregnant sentences in Dr. Newman Smyth's little volume on "Modern Belief in Immortality" is this: "After all has been reasoned and said, one shadow sometimes will fall across a clear Christian faith: it is the doubt which arises from inability to imagine how these things can be. It is well to recognize the fact that the last difficulty of a well-reasoned and assured hope is a difficulty of the imagination." This is an inspiring truth well put. What the mind cannot clearly image to itself it is apt either to disbelieve or to leave in abeyance. Dr. Smyth's book is full of suggestive sentences like this, and contains much more to set the thoughtful reader a-thinking than some more pretentious volumes. Its chief defect is that it approaches the problem of immortality from the scientific point of view, and passes over to the theistic point of view apparently unconsciously. But, granted faith in God, faith in immortality inevitably follows. Both are, indeed, different aspects of the same spiritual faith. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 75 cents.)

Every father who has to read or tell stories to his children, and every teacher who has to fulfill a similar duty with regard to pupils, appreciates a reliable collection of stories, and stories relating to American history are doubly appreciated. A part of our history is still too little known—the Westward Movement; that is to say, the spreading of our frontier from the first white settlements to the Alleghanies, to the Ohio, then to the Mississippi and the Missouri, and then the winning of the last frontier. Hence "The Last American Frontier," by Frederic L. Paxson, Professor of American history in the University of Michigan, is a noteworthy book when one considers the demands and needs of older children, and also of very many "grown-ups." It gives a graphic survey of the Indian frontier, of Ohio and the new Northwest, of the Santa Fé trails, of the Mormon pilgrimages, of California and the "forty-niners," of the Cheyenne and Sioux wars, and of the last stand of Chief Joseph and Sitting Bull. The book will be found to have merit as a work of reference as well. We are glad, therefore, to find the index an ample one. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

Racially, half of the American people is not Anglo-Saxon. Various European peoples have contributed to our growth. Hence in discussing the development of the Nation Americans are just now paying particular attention to the immigrant as an ethnic factor in their future. Two works calling for special notice have recently appeared on this general subject. The first is Professor Faust's "History of the Germans in America," on which The Outlook has already commented. Now comes Professor Flom's "History of the Norwegian Immigration to the United States." If we regard the million Norwegians here in contrast with the many million Germans, the Norwegian factor in our population may seem almost negligible alongside the German. The Norwegian question becomes anything but negligible, however, when one compares the proportion of the immigrants here to the home population in Norway and Germany. In America there are now half as many Norwegians as in Norway itself! Despite its very great and at times seemingly unnecessary detail, the story of the Norwegian settlers in America is well worth the telling. The prominence attained by those of Norse blood in agriculture, industry, and politics here shows the importance of studying the civilization which they have brought as a racial heritage into this country. (Privately Printed, Iowa City, Iowa.)

In the volume entitled "The Odes and Psalms of Solomon" we are introduced to a recent literary find of high value. While the Psalms of Solomon, dating from the middle of the first century B.C., have long been known, a Syriac version of them has been found whose MS. is accompanied by the MS. of the hitherto unknown collection here entitled "The Odes of Solomon"—a document of higher antiquity than any other non-canonical Christian writing. The scholarly translator and editor, Mr. J. Rendel Harris, speaks of them as "marked by a vigor and exaltation of spiritual life and a mystical insight to which we can only find parallels in the most illuminated periods of the history of the Church." There are no sad notes in them, only outpourings of Christian faith and love and joy. Since the

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publication in 1883 of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," discovered in 1877, and dating from about 140 A.D., there has been nothing found till now of equal value as a relic of the early Church. Like that, these Odes are regarded as produced amidst Jewish-Christian influences, but, at least in part, at a somewhat earlier date, and are justly pronounced "a memorial of the first importance for rightly understanding the beliefs and experiences of the Primitive Church." The dissimilar interests of the general reader and of the specialist are each well provided for in this inviting volume. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $5.)

"Judaism as Creed and Life," by a British rabbi, the Rev. Morris Joseph, representing Reformed Judaism, is an attractive presentation of pure monotheism intent upon righteous living. It seems to be written for non-Jews as commendatory of what they should know more of, especially for those non-Jews who have no interest in Christian churches. Its conception of Judaism as a missionary religion, and its antagonism to Christianity, of which it appears to know only the ultra-orthodox type, are clearly declared. It represents a less advanced type of Reformed Judaism than that represented by such rabbis as Drs. Hirsch in Chicago, Fleischer in Boston, and Wise in New York, of which Mr. C. G. Montefiore is the one prominent representative in England. It wholly ignores even the existence of Jesus, of whom Mr. Montefiore's work on the Synoptic Gospels tells his co-religionists: "We must restore this hero to the bead-roll of our heroes; we must read his story; we must learn from it and gain from it all (and it is not little) which it can give us and teach us." (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.)

Tree-lovers will find in "Trees and Shrubs of the British Isles" an almost perfect book of reference within its sphere. The quarto form allows of large drawings direct from nature, supplemented by sixteen full-page colored plates by the same artist, Mr. C. F. Newhall. The authors, C. S. Cooper and W. P. Westell, are practical botanists and field naturalists of repute. In addition to elaborate description and classification of all varieties of British trees and shrubby plants, they furnish chapters on useful insects, insect pests, methods of propagation of plants, the beauty and uses of trees, and kindred topics. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 2 vols. $7.50.)

Mr. H. W. Dresser's latest book, "A Message to the Well," is partly occupied with his counsels to persons who had appealed to him for help, and partly with critical questions raised by the Emmanuel Movement. It justifies his reputation as the most persuasive and philosophic interpreter of the so-called New Thought—the acknowledgment of the active immanence of God as a factor of mental and physical health. What is needed is, doubtless, "a rational criterion to guard our sanity, and preserve us from the emasculated superstition of the mind-cure cults." The discussion which Mr. Dresser gives to the various types of psychotherapy insists upon ethical and religious interests as of supreme value. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25.)

The ninth and tenth volumes of Professor John Bassett Moore's edition of "The Works of James Buchanan" contain Buchanan's writings for the important periods of his English mission and the greater part of his term as President. His Presidential papers, unfortunately, so far as Professor Moore has been able to collect them, are confined almost altogether to official documents, and consequently the historical student who may have hoped to gain from this publication new light on Buchanan's policies is fated to disappointment. The few private letters printed have little bearing on the supreme issue of the time—the struggle over slavery. Taken together with the public papers, however, they reveal and emphasize Buchanan's earnest belief that only through the continuance in power of the Democratic party could the Union be preserved; and they leave no doubt that, mistaken and harmful though many of his acts were, he was sincerely persuaded that he was acting in the best interests, not only of his party, but of the Nation. The event soon proved that his Administration had been a lamentable failure, but it is evident from his papers that almost up to the last he nursed the delusion that he had been successful in his cherished aim of "pacifying" the country and averting the "irrepressible conflict," which he steadfastly refused to believe was drawing near. As is universally recognized to-day, it would have been far better for Buchanan's fame had he never been President, and it is interesting to note that, from repeated statements in his correspondence for the years immediately preceding his nomination and election, he realized the difficulties of the task that would be his, and had no wish to undertake it. "I shall not again be a candidate for the Presidency," was his positive declaration in a letter of May 30, 1854, and in the same letter he added: "I have been near enough the Presidency to know that it is a 'crown of thorns,' and, although the most distinguished position in the world, it is not worth what it costs." In view of subsequent happenings, a pathetic interest attaches to this frank expression of an opinion which Buchanan must have entertained with stronger certitude long before the close of his term of office. (The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $5 per vol.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

RUSSIA'S INJUSTICE

No one who has watched the dealings of Russian courts and Russian officials with political offenders during the past year can doubt for a moment that Tchaikovsky owes his acquittal and Madame Breshkovsky her comparatively light sentence to the intervention and support of their English and American friends. Every one who knows their records is well aware that they have both been closely connected with the modern revolutionary movement in Russia from its very beginning; that both are hostile to the present Russian Government, and that both have been steadily and persistently working against it, at home or abroad, for more than thirty years. Now, what has the Russian Government been doing recently with presons of this class—and persons even less obnoxious—whose cases have not attracted attention abroad, and whose defense has not been taken up by powerful English and American friends?

Professor Maxim M. Kovalevski, a member of the Council of the Empire, a scientific man of the highest rank, a lecturer at one time in the University of Chicago, and a Moderate Liberal, never even suspected of revolutionary activity, has just been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for a historical article on Russian punitive expeditions which he did not write, but which he allowed to appear, *four years ago*, in the St. Petersburg newspaper "Strana" (the Country), of which he was then editor.

On August 5, 1909, N. N. Guseff, private secretary of Count Tolstoy, was exiled for two years, without trial, on a charge of revolutionary activity, which was not supported by any proof whatever.

On May 27, 1909, M. Selden, a publisher of St. Petersburg, was sentenced by a court to six months' imprisonment in a fortress for printing one of Count Tolstoy's brochures.

Less than six weeks ago Mr. V. Y. Yakovlef-Bogucharski, a well-known Russian author—a writer on historical subjects—was exiled for three years to the sub-Arctic province of Vologda, without trial and without proofs.

In October, 1907, Madame Marie Ugrelidze, of Tiflis, was arrested on a charge of revolutionary activity and held in prison, without bail, for eighteen months. When she was brought to trial, April 9, 1909, the Government procurator declined to proceed with the case, for the reason that there were no proofs whatever against the accused. Madame Ugrelidze then went to St. Petersburg and became a student in the Women's Medical Institute. She was thereupon arrested and exiled to the sub-Arctic province of Archangel for three years, without trial and without proofs.

In December, 1909, Mr. V. V. Vodrozof, an eminent Russian publicist, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in a fortress for articles, not at all revolutionary in character, published by him in the newspaper "Nasha Zhizn" (Our Life), in 1906.

On November 12, 1909, A. I. Hillerson, a well-known Russian lawyer, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in a fortress for a speech made in court in defense of a political prisoner.

In the course of the year 1909 fifty-three Russian editors were imprisoned in jails or fortresses, either by sentences of courts or by administrative order without trial or production of proofs.

The whole number of political offenders tried in Russian courts in the first eleven months of 1909 was 9,248. Six thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven of them were found guilty and 3,206 were sentenced to penal servitude or death.

This record of recent cases, which might be greatly extended, is sufficient to show that in their dealings with political offenders generally Russian officials and Russian courts have not always done justice and have seldom shown mercy. It establishes a strong presumption, moreover, that if Tchaikovsky had been an ordinary Russian, without friends in England or America, he would have been prosecuted with more vigor and better success in court, or would have been punished by administrative process after the court had found him not guilty, as scores of other Russian politicals have been.

He escaped, and Madame Breshkovsky received a comparatively light sentence, simply because condemnation of the one and severe punishment of the other would have made a very bad impression in Great Britain and the United States, where both had numerous and influential friends. The result of the trial is a convincing proof that Russian political and penal methods *may* be changed or modified by the pressure of enlightened public opinion in England and the United States. The letters and cablegrams sent to Premier Stolypin from New York have borne fruit. GEORGE KENNAN.

WHY LABOR ARBITRATION HAS FAILED

The Philadelphia general strike emphasizes anew the failure that has attended, in recent years, the attempts at arbitration of important labor disputes. The New York and Philadelphia shirt-waist strikes afford other fresh examples of this significant fact. These failures in cases which contained the utmost promise for the intervention of peacemakers contrast strangely with the hopeful industrial peace movement started about ten years ago and led by the late Senator Marcus A. Hanna.

Then all elements were aglow for arbitration. Labor chiefs, prominent employers, and public men organized as a permanent board of arbitration and conciliation. The National Civic Federation, the name adopted, instituted a series of peace meetings, often

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followed by banquets that were without a parallel. The long dreamed of amity between capital and labor seemed about to be a fact. All that money, influence, and industry could do to create an "atmosphere" for peace was done. At first a few minor successes attended the efforts of the Federation. The real test came with the hard-coal strike a few years later.

What followed is too well known to need repetition here. Nothing was left undone to avert this calamitous struggle, and later to end it. Finally President Roosevelt, through his famous strike commission, succeeded where the Federation failed. This commission laid down certain broad principles bearing upon the rights of employers and unions. The sagacious Hanna, after his last futile effort, remarked to his associates, "Boys, we haven't made good, and so will we be judged."

From that time on arbitration became a declining factor in labor troubles. A succession of devastating disputes followed in the machinery, printing, paper-making, lithographic, and garment trades. The Chicago teamsters' strike will long be remembered for its turbulence. In all these the Civic Federation proved uniformly impotent. The New York subway strike, in 1905, marked the close of the Federation's activity as a peace body. There could have been no more impressive demonstration of the ineffectiveness of arbitration than this strike. Mr. Belmont, the President of the Interborough Company, was also the head of the Civic Federation. The leaders of the National and local unions of street railway employees were active on the Federation's Executive Committee. The disputants, sitting on the same committee and pledged to arbitration, displayed a rancor toward each other that was extraordinary.

In justice to the Civic Federation, it must be said that its efforts were often supplemented by citizen committees, and with no better results. The arbitration bureaus maintained by the different States have long been distinguished for their worthlessness.

The question which this discouraging situation raises is whether there is something inherent in labor disputes which precludes settlement through third parties. The theory of the Federation was that misunderstandings were at the bottom of the disputes, and hence the remedy lay in bringing the warring parties into closer association. On so munificent a scale was this object promoted and under auspices so propitious that it is fair to conclude that this theory has been fully tested. Indeed, these get-together meetings seemed to promote the opposite from the result expected. Misunderstandings were surely cleared up, but not in a way conducive to peace. They strengthened rather the points of difference and rendered more clear the motives of the opposition. The industrial relations to all appearances underwent no change, certainly not a favorable one. The utterances of Mr. Gompers and his lieutenants, if anything, are more defiant, and also those of Mr. Kirby and the other employer leaders.

Where is the stumbling-block to industrial peace? Perhaps the answer may be found in the final declarations of employers and unions to each other.

The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, in response to the appeals of the business interests for arbitration, defined its attitude in these words:

> First, the right of our employees to deal directly with us without the intervention of an organization officered and controlled by outside men.
>
> Second, the right of this company to have the same freedom in hiring and discharging men that the men have in staying with or leaving the company.
>
> These rights are fundamental and inalienable, and do not submit themselves to any form of arbitration. To surrender them to any outside interest would be to abrogate the management of the corporation, which duty the law imposes upon us as directors.

The Association of Waist and Dress Manufacturers of New York, after conceding all wage demands, declared irrevocably against discrimination "in the hiring or discharging of employees because of membership in a labor organization." This proposal was emphatically rejected by the union.

It will be seen how alike in essentials are the labor disputes, how the issues are resolved into rights, and how alike are the conceptions of those rights by each side. It will also be seen how ready the unions are to stake all, rather than yield on that ground.

The employer demands the right to bargain with his help directly and on the individual merit basis, and the union demands the right to bargain for the employees, and, in order that all shall be bound, demands the exclusion of non-members. The tendency of employers of recent years has been to modify their attitude to the extent of being willing to treat with employees' agents, but this is contingent always upon personal merit as the condition of employment.

The labor problem, in other words, simmers down to a fight over control, and the rights asserted by capitalist and laborer are such as would justify their positions. With the employer the fight is to retain the unrestricted mastery of his business, and with the union to restrict it. Ostensibly better pay and treatment are the immediate objects of labor combination, but in reality the power to dictate working conditions is the underlying and the first object sought. To this end the influence of the leaders is directed, and often against the desire of the rank and file, who are looking for immediate concessions in pay.

To the leaders' policy in making control the first consideration there is hardly a reasonable objection, excepting as to the manner by which that end is sought. Were it sought on the strength of the workers' solidarity, it would be viewed in a far different light than where sought through monopoly in the shop, by forced compacts with the employer, and through the coercion of the unwilling worker.

However this may be, it appears that the

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labor struggle is destined to be fought out on this line until one side or the other succumbs, which would be a calamitous outcome indeed, or until leaders arise from both sides with broader conceptions of rights, which will express the social instead of the strained and self-interested viewpoints of the combatants.

The difficulty presented on the labor side toward an adjustment of rights is immeasurably greater than on the other. The employers' position is the time-sanctioned one of free competition in labor, and among the more liberal of employers revised so as to admit of the collective bargain, where the right of the worker not to participate in such bargain is recognized. The unionist's position is dictated by a new code of rights, in which the union takes the place of the separate worker and refuses to consider the nonmember. According to the latter doctrine, the less efficient worker is entitled to the same protection from the union, and so it resents the individual merit principle of the employer.

Manifestly there can be no compromise in these positions. The employer will resist to the last every trespass upon what he deems his indispensable authority. He will resist for practical, if not for moral, reasons. The union, on the other hand, can afford to go far to meet the employer's view on that point, as the industrial world is by no means ready to accept its doctrines as embodied in the closed shop. It can afford to retreat, provided the collective bargain principle be respected.

The successful Railway Brotherhoods attest the practicability of this policy. Unquestionably the reason why so many threatened railway strikes are averted is because the question of union control never enters into the controversies. It is hoped for the same reason that the grave troubles apparently imminent on the Western roads will not materialize. It is significant that the Trenton car strike, inspired by the Philadelphia trouble, was quickly settled, and to the advantage of the men. Unionism was not made an issue. In their formative period unions have to contend with the open shop, and it is when they gain the strength to demand the closed shop that the closed shop is considered vital to the union. The anthracite miners' unions are on an open shop basis, though involuntarily. The British unions do not, as a rule, make the closed shop an issue.

The conviction of the writer, himself a former union leader and member of the National Civic Federation, is that the recession by the union movement from its policy of compulsory membership and the recognition by it of certain rights essential to the employers' function will at once open the door wide to the adjustment of wage disputes through friendly intercession, and put an end to a situation like the present, which is as menacing to the unions' existence as to social peace.

HENRY WHITE.

New York City.

[Mr. White's views on the settlement of labor troubles are of special interest because he has been a trade union official and the editor of a trade journal, "The Garment Worker," as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Union of New York and of the National Civic Federation. The position of The Outlook as regards public service corporations and their employees was stated last week in an editorial called "The Way to Peace."—THE EDITORS.]

PROFITS NOT EARNED

Last April an enterprising citizen of Atlanta invested $26,175 in real estate and sold in March, 1910, at a profit of $28,925. This fact was published by the Atlanta "Constitution" as an illustration of the rapid growth which Atlanta is now enjoying. It is a splendid illustration of what most Americans admire as enterprise, but it is a still better illustration of the folly of the American people in that they will allow themselves to be held up in any such fashion.

The presumption is that the enterprising citizen of Atlanta who made a profit of over one hundred per cent in less than one year had made no improvements on his lots. Indeed, he seems to have done nothing except exercise a little foresight and sit down to wait, also blocking, it may be, the wheels of society. The last supposition certainly is true if any one was ready and wanting to use that lot for business purposes. No sane man can argue that the real estate man had earned the profit which he took. If the property had increased in value, it was due to the activity of the 100,000 citizens of Atlanta, the 2,500,000 of Georgia, and the 90,000,000 of the United States, of whom he was only one. Had he lived in monarchical Germany his fellow-subjects of the Kaiser would have compelled him to share with them a small part of his profit in the form of a tax on the unearned increment. They will do the same in England when Mr. Lloyd-George's bill becomes a law. But in democratic America we still allow men to hold us up and block the wheels of society until we pay the price they demand. Some day, perhaps, we will make such enterprising citizens share their profits with the public treasury. In the Atlanta case at least eighty per cent ought to have been "confiscated."

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

University of Arkansas.

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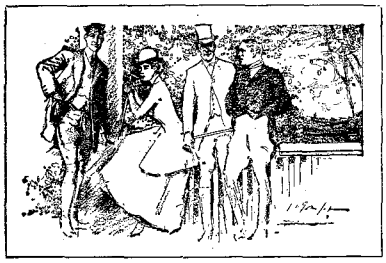

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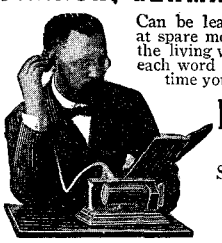

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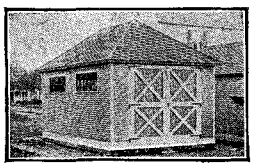

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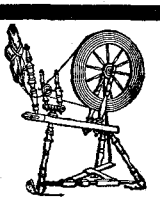

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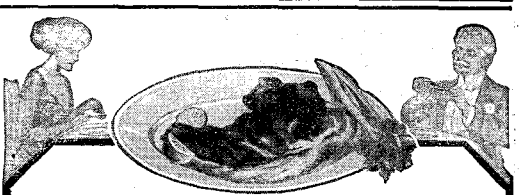

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